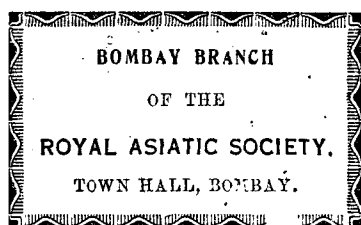




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THE ASCENT OF OLYMPUS

BY
RENDEL HARRIS

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains four lectures which were delivered in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, during the years 1915 and 1916, and which appeared at intervals in the Library Bulletins. They are reproduced as nearly as possible in their original form, with a few necessary corrections and expansions and justifications. It would have been easy to spread them over a much larger area ; but perhaps they may suffice for the presentation of ideas which are to some extent novel, and, almost as certainly, to some persons distasteful.

On the one hand, I have to meet the criticism of my wise friend, and inspiring leader, who is priest of the mythological Nemi and guardian of its Golden Bough, until someone catches him unawares and dispossesses him. He tells me that he despairs of the solution of the riddle of the Greek Mythology, he who does not despair (and with better right than Haeckel) of the solution of the riddle of the Universe !

On the other hand, there are those who, having unfortunately been familiar with the Greek gods from their earliest years, and never really detached from traditional faith in them, cannot avoid contemplating the author of these lectures as an Iconoclast, and put upon him the task, under which Socrates as well as the early Christians alike laboured, of proving to a suspicious bench of magistrates that they were really not atheists. So far from this being the case, it may be hoped that when one succeeds, if one does succeed, in evolving Artemis out of a wayside weed, or Aphrodite out of a cabbage, and, in general, all things lovely out of things that are not at first sight beautiful, one may claim to belong to the brotherhood, whatever its name may be, that has the vision of

That far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

RENDEL HARRIS

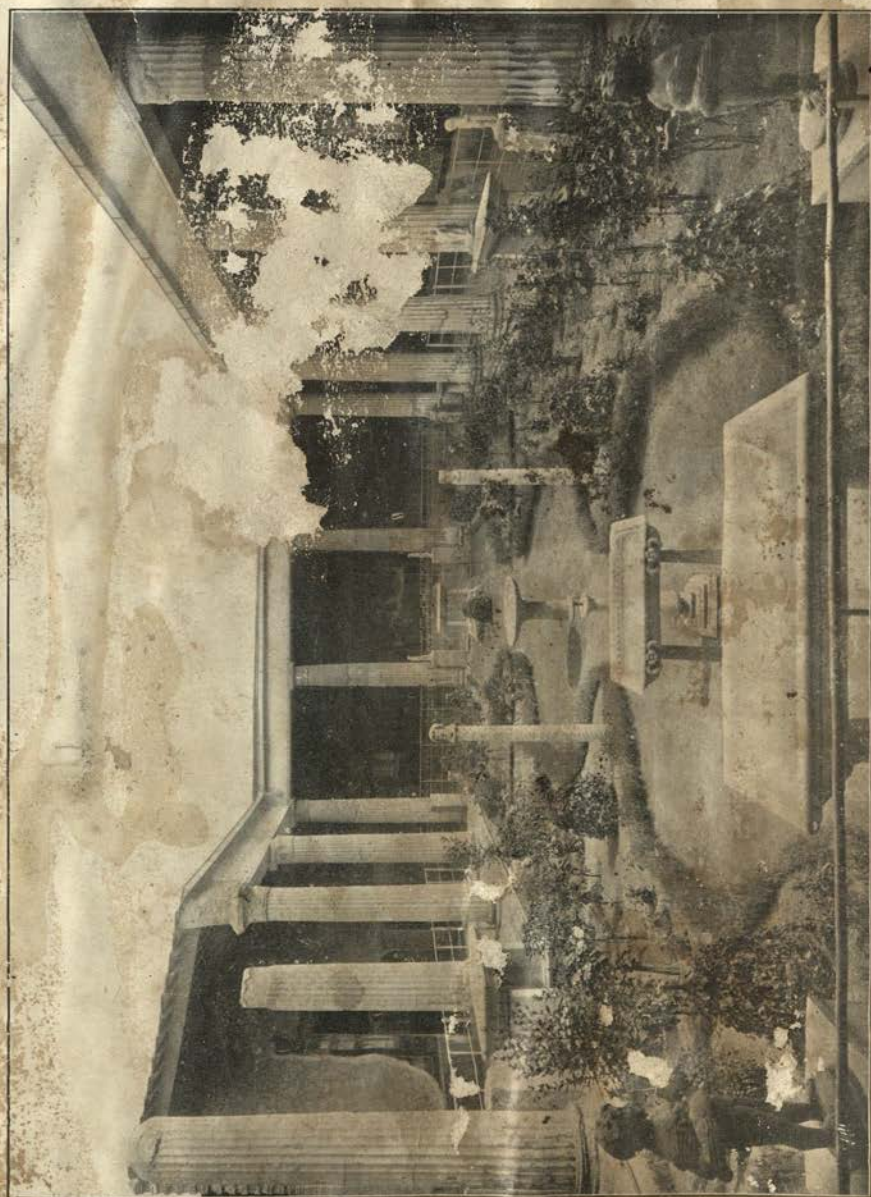
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HOUSE OF THE VETTI AT POMPEII, WITH HERMES OF BACCHUS AND ARIADNE

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF ZEUS.

MODERN research is doing much to unravel the complicated and almost interminable rich and Latin Mythologies. In another sense, religious interpretation, the gods of Olympus are fading away, made from off the ethereal scene, the earlier forms out of which they evolved come up again into view; the Thunder-god goes back to the Thunder-man, or into the Thunder-bird or Thunder-serpent; Zeus takes the stately form in vegetable life, of the Oak, and he must be fresh and blood he comes back as a Red-woodpecker. Other and similar evolutions are discovered and discoverable; and the gods acquire a fresh interest when we have learnt their parentage. Sometimes, in the Zeus-worship at all events, we can see two forms of deity standing side by side, one coming on to the screen before the other has moved off; the zoömorph or animal form co-existing and hardly displacing the phytomorph or plant form.

One of the prettiest instances of this co-existence that I have discovered came to my notice in connection with a study that I was making of the place of bees in early religion. It was easy to see that the primitive human thinker had assigned a measure of sanctity to the bee, for he had found it in the hollows of his sacred tree: at the same time he had noticed that bees sprang from a little white larva, comparable with the maggot in a putrescent body. So he devised explanations of the origin of these larvæ, and not unnaturally theorised that the bee would arise in the body of an ox, if the ox were buried, or killed and shut up in a building whose doors and windows were closed for a sufficient length of time. Classical literature is full of these stories, and even Biblical literature is not destitute of the tradition to witness the story of Samson, eating honey from the carcase

of a lion. We will not, however, go to ancient literature, but to something much more ancient, the traditions and folk-lore of existing peoples.

For instance, there is a wide-spread folk-tale, according to which Jesus asks bread from an old woman who is baking, and upon refusal turns her into a woodpecker or an owl: you have a reminiscence of the story in Ophelia's statement in the play of Hamlet, that "the owl was a baker's daughter". This story, the explanation of which is not difficult, is, amongst the peasants of little Russia, embroidered with another story from quite a different cycle. The old woman in this tale strikes Jesus on the head and makes a wound. In the wound is found a little worm, which Peter is bidden to extract and place in the hollow of a tree. The story-teller goes on to say that when they next passed that way, there was an abundance of honey in the tree. *Bees had been produced out of the Lord's head.*

In another form of the story, as told in Poland, Jesus is travelling with Peter and Paul, and asks for hospitality for the night from an old woman. Instead of a welcome they have stones thrown at them, and Paul is struck in the head. As the weather was hot, the wound putrified, and little maggots were produced, which Jesus took from the wound and placed in the hollow of a tree. A good while after, they passed that way again, and Jesus directed Paul to look in the tree-hollow, where to his surprise *he found bees and honey sprung from his own head.*

In German Bohemia, the story is told without the introduction of the old woman. Jesus and Paul walk through the woods together. Christ's forehead itches, and Peter extracts the troublesome maggot and puts it in a hollow tree. Result as before.

Sometimes the peasant says that the bee-larva was found in a hole in the body of God, either an artificial hole made in his forehead, or elsewhere, from which it is removed into a corresponding hole in the tree, where bees are to be found.

In all these stories the oak in whose holes the bees are found has been externalised into the body of God in which the bees exist in germ-form. The Thunder-man is seen to be the externalisation of the Thunder-tree; the phytomorph and the anthropomorph stand side by side, and each of them being read in terms of the other, each is the Thunder. Christ as the Thunder-man

out of the Thunder-tree ; but he has not gone very far off and easily finds his way back.

Now it is easy to see that this method of regarding the oak as personified thunder, capable of an external and visible incarnation, may lead us to important results in other parts of ancient mythology. When, for example, we read that Athena sprang from the brain of Zeus, and was actually liberated from that temporary prison by the axe of Hephaestus, we have only to remember that Athena is the owl, and that, from the habits of the owl and its dwelling-place in the hollow tree, it has claims to be regarded as a Thunder-bird ; though, for want of sufficient colour-credentials, it cannot hold its own against the Woodpecker.

Zeus is, from this point of view, a projection of the Thunder-tree and of the Thunder-bird into human form, while Hephaestus with his axe (the thunder-axe, of which we may see the wide diffusion in popular beliefs and in surviving cult-monuments), is himself an artificial double of the thunder-god, and in some respects nearer to the thunder than Zeus himself. Athena is the daughter of Zeus, because she is the daughter of the Thunder, and she springs from the thunder-struck oak.

We are now going to spend a little time over the myth of Dionysos, because it suggests a parallel to the birth of Athena. In Athena's case, the place of gestation is the head of Zeus, in the case of Dionysos, the story ran that when he was born of the intercourse of Semele and Zeus, and his mother had perished in the fiery embrace of her Olympian lover, Dionysos himself underwent gestation in the thigh of Zeus, and being born again from thence became the type of the twice-born man. It is natural, then, to enquire whether any explanation of the relations between Zeus and Dionysos can be made in terms of the oak-tree and the Thunder.

It is well known that the mythology of the Dionysos cult furnishes some of the most obscure and intricate problems in the whole history of Greek religion. Who was Dionysos ? What is the meaning of his name ? Why is he born of Zeus and Semele ? And why re-born of Zeus ? How does he become a god of wine and take the vine under his patronage ? And what possible connection can there be between the Zeus-born babe ; or the discoverer of the vine, or the Thracian hero of the Bacchic religion, whom the Maenads pursue in

wild ecstasies upon the mountains? What connection has the Thracian Dionysos with the Phrygian Sabazios? How did they come to be identified one with the other? And how did the Bacchic revellers become identified at a later date with the followers of Orpheus and the initiates into the Orphic mysteries? And what is the meaning of the devotion to Dionysos in the very sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi? These are some of the questions which engage more or less successfully the attention of the students of Greek religion. Indeed, it is only after the enunciation of a series of inadequate hypotheses that the ground is cleared for one that harmonises and colligates the known facts and traditions. Without for a moment suggesting that it is in our power, by a fortunate intuition, to resolve the varied tangle of Dionysos-cults and customs, and the place of the god in Greek religion, we may perhaps be forgiven if we say that, up to the present, the solutions offered have failed because they did not go far enough back into primitive religion, and because they were not sufficiently simple. Suppose, then, we try and verify this statement by a hypothesis which goes down to the lowest stratum of religious ideas, and is as simple as it is primitive.

In order to make such a hypothesis, we recall the direction in which we were taken by Mr. A. B. Cook and others with regard to the character of the European Sky-God. He was found to be also a Thunder-god, who dwelt animistically in a thunder-struck tree (an oak-tree by preference as being the tree that is oftenest struck),¹ and whose bolts in the form of arrows or axe-heads were found, and often conserved in the neighbourhood of the tree, if not actually in its hollows. Moreover, as we have shown, the common belief that the thunder existed in bird-form, and could even be recognised as thunder by his red colour, led to the association of certain birds with the thunder and the thunder-tree. Last of all, it was evident that bees and honey, from being commonly found in hollow thunder-struck trees, had acquired a close affinity with the thunder-god, whether in bird-form or in his later human guise. The relationship was natural

¹ The oak is struck thrice as often as the pine, more than ten times as often as the beech. For the proof of this see my note in *Boanerges*, p. 392, which was written without knowledge that the same result had been given in Frazer, *G. B.*, VII. ii. 298, from Warde Fowler in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xvi, (1913), pp. 318 sqq.

in any case ; but it was emphasised by the observation that the Woodpecker rifled the bees' nests. These things being so, we find that the animistic belief makes everything that thunder touches into thunder : the trees, the bird, the man, the axe.

If this be true, we must ask a further question : if the tree and its associated animate and inanimate forms are thunder, what shall we say of the parasites of the tree ? Are they thunder also ? In the case of the mistletoe, the evidence for an affirmative reply is being piled very high by Dr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough*, and we have no need to repeat his arguments, or gather over again his multitudinous facts. The mistletoe, however, is not the only oak-parasite.¹ We are thus led to our next hypothesis, which is that the ivy that grows on the oak is also thunder, and that when the phytomorph becomes the anthropomorph, the name of the new (subordinate) thunder-deity is Dionysos. In other words, *Dionysos is the ivy*; in the first instance, he is ivy, nothing more nor less. When we make that suggestion, we have gone back almost to the lowest stratum of religious belief, and it will be agreed that if we can defend our hypothesis, it is one of extreme simplicity.

In some respects the statement is not new ; we might show that the Greeks themselves made it, and at Acharnai, says Pausanias (I., xxxi. 6) they honour an Ivy-Dionysos ; this identification is also the goal towards which a number of modern investigators have been tending. There has been a general feeling that in order to solve the origins of Dionysos and of Dionysiac worship, we must go behind the vine and the cult of the vine. Miss Harrison tried to do this when, in her *Introduction to the Study of Greek Religion*, she started the theory that behind the Thracian wine-god, there was a beer-god. With great ingenuity she replaced the Dionysian-goat by spelt (Tragos) and deduced the Dionysian title Bromios from oats (Bromos). Thus we lose the conventional origin of tragedy, the goat-song, and the traditional connection of Dionysos with the Thunder, so far as thunder is implied by one of his most popular titles (Bromios). Miss Harri-

¹ The reader will observe that we do not use the word *parasite* in a modern or scientific sense, but simply to describe one plant that grows on another, the mistletoe which is a true parasite, as well as the vine which is an apparent parasite. To the early botanist the ivy was as much a part of the oak as the mistletoe.

son's theory did not find favour, and she very soon withdrew it, and the four titles which she thought she had explained, Bromios, Braites, Sabazios, and Tragedy. The hypothesis was short-lived, and perhaps it was buried too hastily for decency. Even a hypothesis requires time for a death-certificate. I mean that it had an *à priori* verisimilitude which commends it; when one thinks what beer has meant in the history of our own ancestors, and what it means to-day in almost all the tribes of East Africa, it is difficult to see how the latent inspiring principle of the beverage should have escaped some sort of divinisation. After all, there is a subterranean connection between Beer and Bible.

The fact is, however, that neither the beer-hypothesis nor the closely related mead-hypothesis is sufficient to explain Dionysos and his cult, though they may easily have been stages on the way to the recognition of a wine-god. So one of the first steps forward, i.e. backward, is to deny that Dionysos is the equivalent of alcohol. Accordingly Perdrizet said, in his *Cultes et Mythes du Pangeé*¹ that "primitively the Thracian Dionysos was not a god of wine". He then suggested that Dionysos might be the ivy, but gave the wrong reason, affirming that Dionysos was the god who presided over vegetable life, and for that reason his symbol was the evergreen, whose persistence in the winter attests that the death of nature is only an appearance. This exactly misses the point; Dionysos is not a true vegetation-God; the real reason for the identification of Dionysos with the ivy is that the ivy is the thunder, not, in the first instances, the symbol of any vegetable life, whatever vegetable connections may ultimately be developed. Yet, on the other hand, how close Perdrizet came to the identification! Here is an admirable summary² which he makes of the divinity of the ivy:—

"Il est croyable que dans les temps très anciens la lierre passait aux yeux des Thraces pour la résidence de leur divinité, probablement même était-il un de leurs totems: ainsi s'explique que pendant la période Hellenistique encore, les Dionysiastes se faisaient tatouer au

¹ l.c. p. 64.

² l.c. pp. 65, 66. Apparently this is taken from S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. 105: "le lierre, comme le taureau, le chevreau, le faon, est une forme primitive de Dionysos, dont il est resté l'attribut".

signe de la feuille de lierre : et que les femmes, quand elles célébraient, comme dit Plutarque (*Quaest. Rom.* 112) la 'Passion de Bacchus,' mettaient en pièces des branches de lierre et en mangeaient les feuilles ; le lierre, comme la faon, le chevreau ou le taureau, était une forme de Dieu ; et comme ces animaux, il servait aux repas de communion qui formaient le mystère par excellence de la Bacchanale."

Perdrizet was referring to the attempts made to introduce the Greek religion into Jerusalem, and to force it upon Egyptian Jews, and in particular to the decree of Ptolemy Philopator that the Jews should be "branded with the ivy-leaf, the emblem of Bacchus";¹ (3 Macc. ii. 29 : cf. 2 Macc. vi. 7). Philopator goes farther in this compulsory Hellenisation than Antiochus Epiphanes, who had required the Jews to take part in Bacchic processions, carrying thyrsi twined with ivy : he will have them take the totem-mark of the god. It was not meant to be a degradation, for he was tattooed himself with the same sacred symbol.

The description of the tearing and eating of the ivy in a sacramental manner is also very instructive ; it is the god that is eaten here,² just as in the more terrible sacraments of raw flesh with which we are familiar in early religion in general, and in the Bacchic revels in particular. What Perdrizet then missed was the identification of the underlying god. He saw the ivy off the oak : if he had seen it on the oak, the whole matter would have been much clearer to him. And we are inclined to think it might have been clearer : for consider how closely Dionysos is connected with the thunder, not only by his miraculous birth from the thunder-smitten Semele, but also by the titles and descriptions given to him by the Greek poets. Miss

¹ τοὺς δὲ ἀπογραφομένους χάρασσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ πυρρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρσιήμῳ Διόνυσῳ κισσοφύλλῳ.

—3 Macc. ii. 29.

γενόμενης δὲ Διονυσίων ἑορτῆς ἡναγκάζοντο
κισσοὺς ἔχοντες πομπεύειν τῷ Διόνυσῳ.

—2 Macc. vi. 7.

See further on the totem-marks of Dionysos in Miss Harrison's review of Perdrizet, *Classical Review*, December, 1910.

² Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 429, misses the meaning of the chewing of the ivy and suggests that "the Maenads chewed ivy leaves for inspiration, as the Delphic prophetess chewed the bay". They ate the god for inspiration, would be a more correct statement.

Harrison tried to get Bromios away from the thunder, but she admitted that throughout the *Bacchæ* "Dionysos is in some degree a god of thunder as well as thunder-born, a god of mysterious voices, of strange confused orgiastic music, which we know he brought with him from the North".¹ "In some degree a god of thunder"! the expression will bear re-writing. When we see the ivy climbing over the oak, and attaching itself to it, the birth from Zeus and Semele, the tree and the earth (for it is well-established now that Semele means earth), becomes intelligible. *The tree is the thunder and makes all its parasites and all its denizens thunder.*²

The new hypothesis connects a number of scattered phenomena and traditions together. To begin with : the vine displaces the ivy : why ? Simply because the first vines were trained on trees, as indeed they long continued to be : so that the transference from ivy-Dionysos to vine-Dionysos was easy and natural. The ivy, however, never loses its place in the cult, in spite of the predominance given to the new-comer. It will stay on the thyrsus : it will continue to be the totem-mark of the god. Thus the vine and the ivy grow side by side. They are on the same oak. In the language of mythology they both grow over the ruins of the thunder-struck palace of Semele.³ In Euripides, *Bacchæ* 41 f., it is the vine that so spreads itself : in Euripides, *Phoenissæ* 651, it is the ivy that clings to the pillars of

¹ Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 415.

² This is, I suppose, the explanation of the legend of Dionysos-statues with faces painted red. According to Pausanias the Corinthians made two images of Dionysos out of a tree, and the images had red faces and gilt bodies (Paus. II. ii. 6; Frazer, *G. B.*, ii. 161). So also at Phigaleia, there were images of Dionysos, covered with leaves of ivy and laurel, through which it was possible to see that the feish had been smeared with vermillion (Paus. VIII. xxxix. 6). Farnell thinks (*Cults of the Greek States*, v. 243) that, "in these cases the idol's face was smeared with red, no doubt in order to endow it with a warm vitality, for 'red' is a surrogate for blood, and anointing idols with blood for the purpose of animating them is a part of old Mediterranean magic". We have shown that there is another explanation of "red" as the colour of the thunder, and that this is a widespread and fundamental conception in the growth of cults. See *Boanerges*, c. 4.

³ We may compare the story which Philostratus (*Imagg.* ii. 19) tells of a certain savage Phorbas, who dwelt under an oak tree, which was regarded as his palace, whither the Phlegyæ resorted to him for judgment.



ARIADNE ON IVY-CLAD PILLAR
(From the House of the Vettii at Pompeii)

the ruined house, and the scholiast has a note to the effect that when the Kadmean palace was struck by the lightning of Zeus, the ivy grew over the pillars so as to hide and protect the infant god. On this ground it is said that the god is called Perikionios (pillar clinging) by the Thebans. The royal palace to which the vine and ivy cling is originally the sacred oak. Even the description of Dionysos in terms of the ivy clinging to the pillar is probably a misunderstanding of an original Perkunios, Perkun being the oak-and-thunder-god of the northern nations, whose name still survives in the Slavic Perun, and in the Latin Quercus and the Hercynian forest. As the Greeks had lost the word for oak, which answers to the Latin Quercus, they naturally made Perkunios into Perikionios. For once mythology is a minor point was a disease of language. The transfer of names was invited by the fact that, in mythology, a pillar commonly represents a tree.¹ For an artistic representation of Dionysos Perikionios, we may now turn to our frontispiece, where we have a pair of Pompeian statues of Bacchus and Ariadne, standing on ivy-clad pillars.

The matter may be taken a little farther: for there are other creeping plants which are found in the cult of Dionysos, and have a similar origin to the ivy. For instance there is a plant called *smilax* (*milax* of the Attic speech), which (whatever be its exact botanical equivalent) turns up with the ivy and the vine in the ritual of Dionysos. Just as the ivy and the vine are found growing side by side over the pillars of the ruined palace of Semele, so the *smilax*, the ivy, and the vine are found in the garlands of the Bacchæ. Thus Athenæus² tells us that in the great Bacchic procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the maidens were crowned with *ivy, vine leaves, and smilax*. And this conjunction explains the language of the Bacchæ (703-5) where the Maenads are garlanded with *ivy, oak, and smilax*:

Then did they wreathe their heads
With ivy, oak and flower-starred briony.

—A. S. WAY.

where "briony" is wrongly substituted for "smilax".

¹ Attractive as this identification is, there are serious objections to it, which are considered on p. 22.

² p. 198 E.

The same conjunction of ivy, oak, and smilax together with the addition of pine-branches is in *Bacchae* 104, *sqq.*, but this time the smilax is described as green *with fair fruits*: so it is probably a creeper whose identification with the thunder has been assisted by its red berries. We have traces, also, of another creeper, the Clematis: in the inscriptions from Cos,¹ there is an allusion to Dionysos Skul-litas, and the name finds its explanation in a gloss of Hesychius, Σκυλλίς κληματίς. So we have a Clematis-Dionysos, to set with the ivy-Dionysos, and with the smilax-Dionysos.

The case of the smilax ought not to be dismissed too hastily: for the question arises whether it is not something more than one of a group of creepers associated with the oak-tree. It is evident that in the Ptolemaic times it has acquired sanctity, and become the subject of regulation on the part of those who have charge of the Dionysian revels. May it not be that smilax has a sanctity of its own, apart from the tree as well as upon it?

Let us see what Pliny says on the plant in question. Here is a passage from the "Natural History" (H.N. xvi. 153-55):—

"Similis est hederæ e Cilicia quidem primum profecta, sed in Græcia frequentior, quam vocant *smilacem*, densis geniculata caulibus, spinosis frutectosa ramis . . . fert racemos labruscæ modo, non hederæ, *colore rubro*, . . . id, volgus ignorans plerumque festa sua polluit *hederam existimando*, sicut in poetis aut Libero patre aut Sileno, quis omnino scit quibus coronentur?"

Pliny, who is here drawing on Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.*, iii. 18, 11) is clearly describing the smilax as used in the Bacchic festivals: he thinks the plant has no business there: it is not a true ivy, but has been mistaken for such by the vulgar and the poets.² Incidentally it differs from the ivy in having red berries.

Yes! but perhaps the vulgar and the poets knew more about the matter than the natural philosopher. We are grateful for the mention of the red berries. They help us to identify the plant with the thunder. At this point we have an exact parallel in the Rowan-tree, which is Thor's tree on account of its red berries. Its redness is emphasised in its name: if any confirmation were needed that the

¹ Ed. Paton and Hicks, No. 37.

² Dioscorides also points out the likeness of the smilax to the ivy.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF DIONYSOS 11

sanctity of the tree is in its berries, the following passage from the *Kalevala* will be sufficient :—

In the yard there grows a rowan,
Thou with reverend care shouldst tend it.
Holy is the tree there growing,
Holy likewise are its branches,
On its boughs the leaves are holy
And its berries yet more holy.

—*Kalevala*, tr. Kirby, xxiii. 221-26.

Note further that amongst the Finns, whose traditions are incorporated in the *Kalevala*, the mountain-ash is called Rauni, and is regarded as the consort of the Thunder-god (Ukko).¹

There is a long note in Sir John Sandys' edition of the *Bacchæ* (Ed. iv. 109-11) in which the identification of the smilax with the botanical *Smilax Aspera* is made, and this again is identified with the *σμίλαξ τραχεῖα* of Dioscorides. Dr. Sandys says of it : "It grows abundantly in marshy places and also on rough ground in Greece and the Archipelago, and in Crete as well as Cyprus. Like ivy it is an evergreen creeper, with a dark-green leaf of leathery texture. It bears small white starry flowers with pink stalks, growing in clusters on the tips of the spray. The berries are of a bright scarlet. . . . In December, 1881, I frequently saw it growing in rich profusion along the Riviera, mantling the hedges with its dark leaves of glossy green. A large coloured photograph by Guidi of San Remo gives a faithful representation of its bright foliage, and its brilliantly scarlet berries. . . . The brightness of its berries at once explains the epithet, *καλλίκαρπος*, its clustering flowers accounts for the epithet *ἀνθεσφόρος*, and its resemblance to the ivy would especially commend it to the votaries of Dionysos."

¹ "To Rauni . . . corresponds the Finno-Lappish *Raudna*, to whom were consecrated the berries of the mountain-ash, and as E. N. Setälä has shown, it is a Scandinavian loan-word (Ice. *reynir*, Swed. *rönn*, cf. Scots *rowan*).

"The Finns also regard the mountain-ash in their courtyards, and especially its berries, as sacred. The idea that the Ukko and Rauni were husband and wife finds its explanation in the close relations which both Teutons and Litu-Slavs believed to exist between the thunder and the oak."
—Kaarle Krohn in *Hastings, Dict. R. E.*, sv. Finns.

I think it is likely that it is to these creepers, beginning with the vine and the ivy, which must surely be vegetable cult-symbols, that we owe the cult-animals, the goat and the fawn. For if these creatures eat the green plants that climb over the oak, they become the god, just as the Maenads do when they chew the ivy, or when at a second remove they eat the flesh and drink the blood of the animal that has eaten the sacred plant. Both the goat and the fawn occupy a large place in the ritual of Bacchic religion; the men are clad in goat-skins, and the women in fawn-skins; they are pretending to be goats and fawns. How does that help them? It helps them to annex and assimilate their god. It seems certain that the fawn as a cult animal, is very near to the origin of the cult: for the Maenads are tattooed with fawn marks, just as the male worshippers are with ivy-leaves: so that the ivy and the fawn are probably primitive symbols. If that be so, the ivy is the earlier symbol, for the fawn only comes in because it has eaten the ivy, or one of the companion growths of the ivy. It might be that both the goat and the fawn had been eating the vine trained on the oak.

These considerations will help us to see how much is gained for the understanding of the cult, by taking the sacred ivy back to the tree from which it originally derived its sanctity.

Notice, in the next place, how the discovered oak-parentage of Dionysos helps us to understand his connection with honey and with the Melissai and with Aristaeus. We have shown that Aristaeus is the original countryman's god, Goodman-god in the language of Eastern Europe, and that amongst his special cares must be reckoned the care of bees. He is himself the discoverer of honey. It is through the bees that Aristaeus comes into the circle of thunder-animisms, his daughters are the *Μέλισσαι*, or Bee-maidens, who will ultimately become priestesses of Demeter at Eleusis. He himself is little more than a glorified shepherd, made famous by the discovery of honey and of olive oil. Now if we turn to Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1132, we find that Medea is wedded in the "sacred grot" of Makris, the daughter of Aristaeus, the finder of honey and oil; it was she who took to her breast the infant Dionysos and touched his baby lips with honey. Here is the passage:—

αὐτονυχὶ κούρη θαλαμήιον ἔντυον εὐνὴν
 ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ, τόθι δὴ ποτε Μάκρις ἔβαιεν,
 κούρη Ἀρισταίῳ μελίφρονος, ὃς ῥα μελισσέων
 ἔργα πολυκμήτοιο τ' ἀνεύρατο πῖαρ ἐλαίης·
 κείνη δὲ πᾶμπρωτα Διὸς Νυσήιον νῖα
 Εὐβοίης ἔντοσθεν Ἀβαντίδος ὧ ἐνὶ κόλπῳ
 δέξατο, καὶ μέλιτι ξηρὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἔδευσεν,
 εὐτέ μιν Ἑρμείας φέρεν ἐκ πυρός·

And here is Mr. Way's rendering of it :—

And the self-same night for the maiden prepared they the couch of the bride,

In a hallowed cave, where of old time Makris wont to abide,
 The child of the Honey-lord, Aristæos, whose wisdom discerned
 The toils of the bees, and the wealth of the labour of olives learned.
 And she was the first that received and in sheltering bosom bore
 The child Nysaian of Zeus, on Euboea's Abantian shore,
 And with honey she moistened his lips when the dew of life was dried,
 When Hermes bare him out of the fire.

So it appears that the babe Dionysos was entrusted at first to one of the Bee-maidens, whom we may call the "tall Miss Goodman". Thus the Bee-maidens are a duplicate of the Kuretes, and they stand to Dionysos in the same relation as the Kuretes to Zeus. They bring the honey to him for baby-Thunder likes honey. *Dionysos is really a new Zeus*, and has similar experiences to the old one.

Moreover, the connection of the Ivy-god with the Oak-god, and with the Oak-god's bees, helps us to see how in certain quarters he usurped the functions of Zeus-Aristæus and became himself Bee-master. Accordingly, Ovid makes him responsible both for the finding of the first honey, and the fashioning of the first bee-hive.

Liba deo fiunt ; sucis quia dulcibus ille
 Gaudet et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt :

Colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani
 Liber : et inventi præmia mellis habet.

—*Fasti*, iii. 735-44.

It is even possible that the Satyrs who accompany Dionysos and the Maenads are originally a group of Kuretes, and that the Maenads may have arisen out of an antecedent group of Bee-maidens. This would explain why the Maenads are so constantly spoken of as the "nurses" (τιθήναι) of Dionysos. In the Orphic Hymns, for example, Dionysos is invoked (Hymn xxx) as

εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, σὺν εὐζώνοισι τιθήναις.

This connection between Dionysos and Honey is even more striking on the great vase of Hieron : here we have the god adorned *with a necklace of honey-combs strung on sprays of ivy*. The god himself is, as Miss Harrison points out,¹ a mere herm draped in a ritual garment, that is, a tree-pillar. We have, then, the tree, the ivy that grows on the tree, and the honey that is found in the tree.

It will be seen that we are beginning to answer some of the questions connected with the Dionysos-cult. Now for a word or two with regard to his name. The old-fashioned explanation was a geographical one, he was from his birth-place Nysa or Nysaios. The modern explanation is that of Kretschmer² who makes *νύσος* = a son *or* young man. According to this-explanation, Dionysos is simply a Thracian form of Dioscouros. I am not altogether satisfied that we have got the true solution of the problem : but no doubt Kretschmer's explanation, at present, holds the field.

The explanation of Dionysos as the ivy and the identification of the ivy with the thunder helps us to understand why the ivy is used in making fire by friction of two sticks. One stick, at least, of the two should have the thunder in it, for how can one get fire out of that which has not fire in it? Frazer³ points out that both Greeks and Indians preferred to make one of the fire-sticks from a parasitic plant and suggests that the reason for the selection is the analogy of the union of the sexes ; one stick, the borer, being male, and the other female. That fire-sticks are male and female is evident, but the reason for the selection of the ivy or wild-vine for a fire-stick lies, not in the sex attributed to the plant, but in the thunder which it contains. Moreover, of parasitic plants employed in making of fire, it is not necessary that the plant should be a vine or creeper. Frazer himself has pointed out that in Vedic times the male fire-stick was cut by preference from a sacred fig-tree which grew as a parasite on a *sami* or female tree. So the question is raised whether the connection of Dionysos with the fig may not be similar to his connection with the ivy. Does the wild-fig ever grow parasitically on the oak? If it does, there is thunder in it, and it can be a Dionysos and a fire-stick. The point deserves, perhaps, a closer investigation.

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 429.

² *Aus der Anomia*, p. 19 ; *Semele und Dionysos*, p. 12.

³ *The Magic Art*, ii. 251.

While talking of firesticks, it occurs to me that it is perhaps in this direction that we are to look for the explanation of the apparent androgynism of Dionysos. The artistic representations of the god are effeminate in the later periods of Greek art, but even in the earlier times we have significant suggestions of feminine dress and appearance. We think, for instance, of Pentheus in the Bacchae, dressed up as a female Dionysos in order that he may spy out the rebels: and the rude images of the aniconic period are often draped and their heads are covered with feminine gear. Farnell brings the point out clearly in the following sentences: when speaking of the Thrasyllus statue in the British Museum, he says, "In the forms of the breasts, which are soft and almost feminine, we note the beginnings of that effeminacy, which becomes the dominant characteristic of the Dionysiac types". Again, "An interesting vase of the earlier fifth-century style, almost certainly by Hieron, had embodied the legend of the confusion of sex of the infant Dionysos: we see Zeus holding the divine babe attired as a girl, behind him is Poseidon and Hermes goes before: and this is a direct illustration of the story preserved by Apollodorus". Again: "Effeminacy in the forms renders it difficult at times to distinguish a head of Bacchus from one of Ariadne". Again: "In the larger (Pergamene) frieze Dionysos is a dramatic and impressive figure enough, but the breasts are half feminine". These quotations will show how decided was the tradition of a feminine element in the idea of Dionysos. How could such a conception have arisen? What was there in the origin of the cult that was the germ which found such pronounced efflorescence in Greek art? I am going to hazard a speculative solution.

It is known that the ivy is one of the early forms of the fire-stick, out of which, by rapid rotation of one stick in another, fire was produced; for example, ivy and laurel were conjugate fire-sticks, the ivy being the male and the laurel the female. Now, if we imagine an earlier stage, in which both the fire-sticks were made of ivy-wood, as might easily have been the case, as soon as it was recognised that the fire had gone into the ivy, then we should have not only a male Dionysos but a conjugate female Dionysos, and one way of expressing this is to say that Dionysos is androgyne. We may get some confirmation of this explanation in the following way: one of the alternative forms for a fire-stick is a piece of nut-wood: when the

need-fire was last made in Westmoreland in 1848, I was told by an old man who took part in the ceremony, and put the cattle through the smoke of the new fire, that the said new fire had been produced by the friction of nut-wood. Now Servius tells us that in Laconia, Dionysos loved a maiden named Caroea (a Miss Nutt, that is), and that he turned her into a nut-tree. As usual in such cases, it was really the nut-tree that was turned into the maid. Her relation to Dionysos is that of the female fire-stick to the male.¹ That was how it happened. It was the ivy that loved the nut-tree. As I have said, this is a speculation and not a demonstration. There may be other explanations possible. The ivy, for instance, may have actually grown over the nut-tree. We should, then, have to look for a feminine Dionysos in some other direction. There is enough evidence extant to make us believe in the existence of such a feminine counterpart, even if we may not at once be able to say who or what she was.

We have now established our main point as to the meaning of the ivy in the cult of Dionysos. The probability is that Dionysos himself is a lesser Zeus, and through the ivy, a kind of Dioscure, or Zeus child. This simple and elementary belief has been combined with other nature-cults, roughly described as Thracian or Phrygian, as Bacchic or Orphic, and the outcome is the god Dionysos, the late recruit to the Olympian family, and one of the best of the whole crowd.

¹ Servius, *Ecl.*, viii. 29.



SILVER DISH FROM CORBRIDGE-ON-TYNE

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APOLLO.¹

IN a recent study of the origin of the Cult of Dionysos, I attempted to show that the solution of this perplexing question (one of the most perplexing of all the riddles of the Greek Mythology) was to be found in the identification of Dionysos with the Ivy, and in the recognition that identification with the Vine is a later development, a supersession of an earlier and less rational cult, if, indeed, we can call that a supersession which does not wholly supersede; for, as is well known, the Ivy and the Vine go on their religious way together, are seen in the same processions, climb over the same traditional buildings, and wreath the same imperial and sacerdotal brows. In some ways the Ivy seems to have a more tenacious hold upon human regard and custom than the Vine: it behaves in religion as it does in nature, clinging more closely to its support in wall and tree than ever Vine can do, and giving a symbolic indication both by rootlet and tendril that wherever it comes, it has come to stay. It appears as the tattooed totem-mark upon the worshipper's bodies, the sign of an ownership which religion has affirmed and which time cannot disallow.

Now this view that the Ivy is the fundamental and primitive cult-symbol in the worship of Dionysos was not altogether new: as I pointed out, it had been very clearly stated by Perdrizet in his *Cultes et Mythes de Pangée*: it had also been suggested by S. Reinach (from whom, I suppose, Perdrizet derived it) as the following passage will show: I had not noticed it when writing my paper:—

“Le lierre, comme le taureau, le chevreau, le faon, est une forme primitive de Dionysos; dont il est resté l'attribut; les Ménades déchirent et machent le lier comme un animal sacré, victime de σπαργμός ou de νεσπισμός; et Plutarque sait, sans le dire for-

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 October, 1915.

mellement (car il n'est pas homme à révéler les mystères) que l'effet de cette manducation du lierre est de rendre les Ménades *ἐνθεοί*, de faire passer en elles la divinité" (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. 105).

This agrees very nearly with my own statement as to the meaning of the chewing of the Ivy by the Maenads : but if the identification of the Ivy as a primitive form of Dionysos is not new (I should say, of the Ivy as *the* primitive form), the reason for the identification is altogether new. As I pointed out, Perdrizet (and, I may add, S. Reinach) see the Ivy off the oak : when we see it on the oak, the whole process of the evolution of the cult becomes intelligible : the Ivy is sacred because it partakes of the sanctity of the oak ; both of them are sacred because they are animistically repositories of the thunder. A collateral proof of this may be found amongst the Lithuanian peoples : as Grimm points out, "the Lettons have named it (the ground-ivy) *pehrkones* from their god *Pehrkon*". This is the Thunder-god *Perkun*. The importance of this consideration is very great : in the nature of the case, there can be no intermediate link between the Ivy and the Oak : the Ivy is the last link ; whatever other creeping or climbing plants (Vine, Smilax, Clematis) may develop Dionysiac sanctity, they can only do so in a derivative and secondary manner : if the Cult of Dionysos is to be explained, it must be from the conjunction of Thunder, Oak, and Ivy as a starting-point. I am now proposing to discuss the origin of the Cult of Apollo, using the results already attained as a guide ; for, as I shall presently show, there is much that is common in the manner of genesis of the two cults in question, and the solution of one will help us to the solution of the other.

Before, however, we proceed to the investigation of the Apolline cult, it will be proper to make a few remarks on the Dionysos cult, as it is expounded in a volume which has appeared since my paper was written. I am referring to Miss Gladys M. N. Davis' work on the *Asiatic Dionysos*. The object of this laborious and learned work, in which the writer shows as great familiarity with Sanskrit literature as with Greek, is to show that the Greek Dionysos is not really Greek at all, but of Asiatic origin. Asiatic in Miss Davis' book means many things : it may mean the Ionic School in literature, it may mean the Phrygian School in religion, but the final meaning, with regard to

which the other two are alternative and secondary, is that Dionysos is an Indo-Iranian product; to understand it we must go to the Avesta and the Rig-Veda. The perplexing titles which Dionysos bears will all become clear from Sanskrit philology or Medo-Persian geography. The central point of the theory is that Dionysos is the Soma, the divine and divinising drink of our Aryan ancestors, which appears in Old Persian under the name of Haoma, and which when theomorphised is one of the greatest of the gods in the Indian Pantheon.

The identification is not new: Miss Davis uses freely Langlois' *Mémoire sur la divinité Vedique appelée Soma*,¹ and points out that Langlois was accepted in his identification by Maury in his *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*.² She might also have referred to Kerbaker, *Il Bacco Indiano*,³ which would have had the advantage of supplying a more modern student of the theory than those writers who belong to a time when everything ancient was Indian, and when Sanskrit was the last word in philology.

In any case, there was *prima facie* ground for re-opening the question of the Oriental origin of Dionysos; for it must be admitted that we cannot completely explain the legendary exploits of Dionysos in India as religious creations whose motive is to be found in the campaigns of Alexander; the opening verses of the Bacchae of Euripides are sufficient to suggest that Dionysos had some links with Persia and with Bactria at a much earlier date; and whatever may be our story of the evolution of the cult, it will not be complete unless these pre-Alexandrine as well as the post-Alexandrine elements of Asiatic influence are taken into account. According to Miss Davis the Greeks were Medizing before the Persian war, not only in commerce but in literature and religion. The proof of this Medism is the dithyrambic movement in poetry (closely associated with the Dionysian revels on the one hand, and with the Ionic School of poetry on the other), and the Bacchic movement in religion. At first sight, each of these supposed influences seems to be unlikely; I am not expert in dithyrambic poetry and its extravagances, but it

¹ *Acad. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xix. Paris, 1853.

² Paris, 1857.

³ *Mem. R. Acad. di Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti*. Napoli, 1905.

seems to be in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks, at the time when their literature was nearing its full-bloom, should have shown so little originality as to copy wholesale from the Persians the dithyrambic method, and that the Vedic poets are the proof that the dithyrambic method was there to copy : and I am sure that the major part of Miss Davis' parallels are unreal and her conclusions illusory. As, however, I am not really in a position to discuss the dithyrambic movement in Greek poetry, perhaps I have said more by way of criticism than I am entitled to say. So I pass on to make one or two remarks on the proposed identification of Dionysos with the Soma.

In the first place, then, it follows from the proposed identification of Dionysos with Soma that Soma is the Ivy, or a primitive surrogate for the Ivy. In the next place, it may be granted that if the Proto-Aryans drank a beverage compounded from Soma-Ivy, the proceeding is one which belongs to the elementary strata of Aryan belief (it might even be pre-Aryan), and has nothing whatever to do with any possible loans contracted by the Greeks in the Persian period, which go under the comprehensive name of Medism.

As far as I am concerned there is no need to deny Persian influences in religion. To take a single instance, we know from Aristophanes that the Cock was a Persian importation, and that he actually bore the title *Περσικός*. It is, however, equally clear that the Cock had a religious value in Persia, and was, in fact, the Persian Thunder-bird ; and it is in the character of the Thunder-bird that he takes his place in Sparta (displacing, no doubt, an original Woodpecker) and becomes the cult-bird of the Heavenly Twins, just as he was in Persia. So a religious symbol can be transplanted. That is not quite the same thing as transplanting a religion. If a religion appears to be transplanted, it will probably be found upon closer scrutiny, that it was in existence already.

Is there, then, any probability that an equation can be made between the Soma-plant and the Ivy ? An equation, I say, not a transfer : in the case of such primitive matter, that supposition is unnecessary. Botanically, we cannot identify, for the Soma plant is still an unknown quantity. It was a mountain plant, and it was a creeping plant with long tendrils, and it grows on the rocks, and is also, apparently, a tree-climber ; its juice is yellow, and has intoxicat-

ing value, either naturally or when subject to fermentation. This intoxicating quality makes it the drink of the gods and the medicine of immortality. Probably it is this intoxicating quality which causes it to be spoken of in terms borrowed from *mead* and the honey out of which it is made.

Now it is clear that thus far there is nothing to forbid an identification, or a quasi-identification of Soma with the Ivy : it might be the Ivy, or a first substitute for it.¹

In the next place, there is a parallelism between the two cult-creepers, in that each of them is closely related to the Thunder-god and the Storm-gods. In the case of Bacchus, there was a tendency on the part of students to ignore this connection, although one would have supposed that the relation of Dionysos to Zeus and Semele, and the emphasis which the legend lays on his birth in a thunderstorm, would have been sufficient to establish it, to say nothing of the thunderous elements which turn up in the language of the Bacchae. Now that we see the Ivy on the Oak, we need not have any hesitation in connecting Dionysos with the Thunder. In the case of the Soma the same thing is true ; Soma is especially connected with the thundering Indra, and is actually said, in one case, to be the son of the Storm-god Parjanya.

The mention of this latter god raises an interesting problem : for Parjanya is commonly held to be the equivalent of the Lithuanian (and Slavonic) Oak-and-Thunder god Perkun ; now we have already in our essay connected Dionysos with Perkun, through the title *Perikionios* which the Greeks gave him, a title which we suggested was a mere misunderstanding of a primitive Perkunios. We should thus have made connection between Dionysos and the Soma, through the common element of a primitive thunder-cult. If this can be maintained, it will be a result as illuminating as it is interesting.

The chief objection to it comes from the standpoint of the comparative philologist. In Hastings' *Encyclop. for Religion and*

¹ I have taken the yellow colour of Soma to be the colour of its juice : it should, however, be noted that some varieties of ivy have yellow berries : cf. Theokr. *id.* i. 31, καρπῶ . . . κροκοέντι, and Plin. H.N. 16, 147, semen . . . crocatum.

Dr. Sandys notes in his *Pindar* (p. 586, ed. 1915), that χρυσόκαρπος in *Dioscorides* (ii. 210) is the name of an ivy with yellow berries.

Ethiôs, under the article *Aryans* (a splendid summary of our present knowledge of our ancestors), Schrader objects to the identification of Parjanya with Perkun, on the ground that the Sanskrit *j* cannot be equated with the Lettish *k*. It is possible, however, that the objection is wrongly taken, and is still too much under the influence of the belief that everything Sanskrit is primitive. The Norse equivalent of Perkun appears to be *Fjörgynn*; and this suggests a form Parganyas behind the extant Sanskrit deity. After all, the equation between the two Storm-gods (accepted by Usener and others in modern times¹) may be defensible.

We must be prepared, on the other hand, for an adverse verdict on the point before us from the experts in comparative philology: so that it will be wise not to build too hastily on the equation between *Perkun* and *Parjanya*.

A further caution must be emphasised in regard to the assumed derivation of *Perikionios* as a title of Dionysos from *Perkun* or *Perkunios*. The identification has met with a good degree of approbation: *Perikionios* had, in any case, an uncanny and artificial appearance. There are, however, those who express hesitation or reserve. For example, Mr. A. B. Cook doubts whether the title *Perikionios* was used by anybody who had come into contact with *Perkun*-worshippers, and thinks that *Perikionios* is quite explicable on its own merits without being regarded as a mere misunderstanding of a primitive *Perkunios*. [On this point see later, p. 92].

This may be so, but on the other hand Mr. Cook admits that in *Zeus* (i. 241, n. 15) he had been tempted to make a similar equation of Greek *Pikoloos* with the Lithuanian *Pikulas*. This last is a very interesting case on account of the suspicion which at once comes to one's mind that we are dealing with some survival of the ancestral Woodpecker. In the case of the Greek name, *πίκος* stands out clearly enough: the Lithuanian name has never, as far as I know,

¹ Usener, *Götternamen*, 97, says of Perkun: "Die bedeutende gottgestalt ist uralt: ind. *Parjanya*: alt-nord *Fjörgynn*, slav. *Perun*". See J. Grimm, *Klein. Schr.* 2, 414 ff. Bühler in Benfey's *Orient u. Occ.* i. 214. Zimmer. *Ztsch. f. d. alt.* 19, 164 ff. We may also compare Oldenberg, *Veda*, p. 226 n.: "Der Name (Parjanya) bekanntlich aus indog. Zeit. vgl. den litauischen Perkunas, den nordischen Gott und Göttinn *Fjörgyn*. Nach Hirt: *Idg. Forschungen*, i. 481, wäre die Bedeutung 'Eichengott'."

been explained. When the Christian religion affected Lithuanian beliefs, it seems to be pretty clear that *Pikulas* became the name for the devil. For the bird-ancestry of the devil (as a dispossessed thunder-bird) there is not a little evidence ; the so-called cloven hoof is probably a bird's foot : so there is no impossibility in finding the Woodpecker in *Pikulas*, but the matter needs closer examination before we can speak definitely.¹

Now let us take some further objections, and after we have stated them briefly we shall be able to go on to the problems of the Cult of Apollo.

There seems to be no adequate evidence that *Soma* is a fire-stick. It is inherent in our theory of the sanctity of the Ivy as derived from the thunder and the oak, that the Ivy is a primitive fire-stick : we know, in fact, that this is actually the case. The first fire-sticks amongst the Greeks are made of Ivy, Oak, Laurel, etc. Apparently the Ivy holds the place of honour, which is just what we should not have expected apart from its link with the thunder and lightning. If we were starting out to make fire by friction, ivy-wood is about the last thing which we should have dreamt of using. Its use is a sufficient proof that there was an occult reason for its use.

Now let us turn to *Soma*. There is the same traditional production of fire, carried on religiously, among the Indians even to our own day ; but no sign that *Soma* was a wood capable of becoming a fire-stick. The fig-tree has a prominent place in this regard, as it seems to have a subdued place in Dionysian cults, but there is no sign of *Soma*-wood. The objection is a strong one. There is, however, something to be said on the other side. In Indian myth, *Soma* is not only the companion of Indra, the thunder, and of *Parjanya*, the rain-storm ; it has also a close connection with *Agni*, the fire. It is possible, then, that the Vedic *Soma* is not the first form of the stimulant, but a later and more potent one, which has displaced the first cult-symbol, something in the same way as, let us say, the Vine becomes more effective than the Ivy. Or, in Vedic times, the primitive fire-stick might have disappeared.

There are other objections arising from the want of agreement in

¹ Or perhaps the cloven hoof might be better explained as the goat-hoof of Pan and the Satyrs.

the cult-use of the plants in question. We know that the Ivy is chewed by the Maenads, and that is about all that we do know : in the case of Soma we know minutely its preparation ; that it is crushed between two stones, compared to thunder-bolts, and so perhaps the stones are actual celts supplying one more thunder element to the ritual ; that the yellow juice is mixed with flour, etc., fermented and strained through a strainer of sheep's wool : but there is not a suggestion that Soma is chewed, nor a hint that Ivy is pulped and decocted and strained. Thus we seem to be in two different cult regions, and are tempted to conclude that Soma cannot be either the Ivy or Dionysos. Is there any way of avoiding this conclusion ? Let us study for awhile an analogous sacred drink, the Kava of the Polynesian and Melanesian. Kava is the root of a pepper tree, the *Piper Methysticum*, out of which they make in the South Seas a mild intoxicant with a soapy taste. The method of its preparation varies somewhat in different islands. The root is chewed by a chief who, when he has macerated a portion, squeezes the juice of the portion which he has chewed into a bowl, where it is mixed with water, strained through coco-fibre, and then drunk out of small coco-shells which are filled with great ceremony to the men of the company out of the large Kava-bowl. In some of the more civilised islands (Samoa, for instance) the Kava is not chewed ; it is grated ; a rough grater is made in Samoa by driving some nails into a piece of tin ; the grated root is then mixed with water and strained ; in Samoa the preparation is made by the hands of the prettiest girl in the village, who mixes the drink and strains it with great deliberation and care. She is the priestess of the occasion ; but if you were to tell the natives in one of the less civilised islands that you had seen a woman making Kava, they would be consumed with laughter.¹

Here we have a case analogous in some respects to the brewing of Soma : and it suggests that in the pre-Vedic history of Soma, the plant was chewed and not pounded ; we easily attach too much antiquity to things Vedic. Suppose we conjecture that the Soma was chewed by the Brahmans, and so made potable : we should then have restored parallelism with the action of the Maenads with the Ivy. Yes ! it will be said, but you must also have an ivy-drink

¹ See Rivers, *Hist. Melanesian Society*, i. 82.

prepared. Your Maenads must be as elementary in their dietetic prologues as the South Sea islanders. Who shall say they were not? The whole process is a sacrament, and they might have just as religiously prepared a drink-god as chewed a leaf-god. So let us say that if hypothesis be allowed free play, it is not impossible that Soma might be that ivy, with a somewhat more highly evolved method of preparation.

It is interesting to be able to point out that we have, even in England, suspicious traces of the survival of an ivy-drink. Professor Lake reminds me that in Lincoln College, Oxford, they drink Ivy-beer on Ascension day; i.e. beer in which ivy-leaves have been steeped overnight. Mr. Lake says that "it always seemed to me to be a very unpleasant drink". In Gerarde's *Herball*, p. 707, we find further traces of the same custom:—

"The women of our northern parts, especially about Wales and Cheshire do tun¹ the herb ale-hooue into their Ale, but the reason thereof I know not; notwithstanding without all controversie, it is most singular against the griefes aforesaid; being tunned up in Ale and drunke, it also purgeth the head from rheumaticke humours flowing from the braine." *Alehoofe* is a popular name given to the ground-ivy and is commonly taken to be a corruption of the Dutch *ei-loof* or *ivy-leaf*. If so it is a modification induced by the fact that the ivy is drunk in ale. It is interesting to observe that the ivy has medical value, according to old Gerarde. That point should be carefully noted. There is not a trace of it in the Oxford custom, which is attached to the beating of the bounds in two Oxford parishes.²

¹ For the use of this word, nearly in our times (I believe it is still in use in Lancashire), we may take White, *Selborne (Garden Kalendar for 1768)*: "Tunned the raisin-wine and put to it 10 bottles of elder syrup," etc.

² The following is the account of the Ivy-ale given in Clark's *History of Lincoln College*, p. 209: "On Ascension day, the parishioners of St. Michael's, and, till recently, the parishioners of All Saints', beat their bounds. To enable this to be done, since the line of the boundary passes in at Brasenose gate and out of Lincoln gate, a dark obscure passage, left for the purpose through Brasenose buildings into Lincoln, is opened for that morning. By old custom, a lunch is provided for the parishioners who have attended the vestry. Formerly St. Michael's lunch was set in the buttery as being in that parish, All Saints' in the Hall, as in their own ground. For this lunch a tankard of ground-ivy ale is prepared—i.e. of

In drawing attention to the use of ivy-ale in the beating of bounds at Oxford, we must not forget that the beating of bounds is a very early and very religious act. It is recognised as being closely related to the Roman ceremony of the Ambarvalia, when on the 29th day of May the farms and fields undergo lustration with processions and prayers.

"Of all the Roman Festivals," says Warde Fowler, "this is the only one which can be said with any truth to be still surviving. When the Italian priest leads his flocks round the fields with the ritual of the Litanía major in Rogation week he is doing very much what the Fratres Arvales did in the infancy of Rome, and with the same object. In other countries, England among them, the same custom was taken up by the Church, which rightly appreciated its utility, both spiritual and material; the bounds of the parish were fixed in the memory of the young, and the wrath of God was averted by an act of duty from man, cattle, and crops." (!)

In view of the antiquity and wide diffusion of these customs, practised for the purification of a community and the averting of evil therefrom, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the drinking of ivy is itself a part of the religious ceremony and has preservative value. And this means that it must make for itself a place in the *materia medica*, which owes so much in its earlier stages to the knowledge of the magical virtue of plants and animals.

We are able to show that this drinking of ivy steeped in ale or steeped in wine has a very definite place in early medicine; so that we need not any longer think of it as surviving only in the customs of an Oxford college. We have already shown the use of ground-ivy in ale from Gerarde's *Herball* (A.D. 1597); the same *Herball* will tell us that (p. 708) "the leaves of Ivie, fresh and greene, boiled in wine, do heale olde ulcers, and perfectly cure those that have a venemous and malicious quality joined with them; and are a remedie against burnings and scaldings. Moreover the leaves boiled with vinegar are good for such as have bad spleenes; but the flowers and

ale in which ground-ivy has been steeped overnight. If the manciple has been too generous in his allowance of the herb, the flavour is too marked for modern taste. The origin of this 'cup' I have never seen explained. I have heard a religious origin conjectured for it, that it was emblematic of the 'wine mingled with gall'."

fruit are of more force, being very finely beaten and tempered with vinegar, especially so used they are commended against burnings."

There is more to the same effect, borrowed apparently from Dioscorides, perhaps through the medium of Dodonaeus, who in his *Stirpium Historiae* writes as follows :—

"Hedera . . . viridis autem, foliis eius in vino decoctis, ulcera grandia conglutinat, quaeque maligna sunt, ad sanitatem reducit : tum igne factas exulcerationes cicatrice includit. Porro cum aceta cocta folia lienosis prosunt. Flores autem validiores sunt, ut ad laevorem redacti cum cerato ambustis conveniant."

We have, then, in the Oxford custom a survival of early medicine as well as of early religion. The two are not very far apart in their origins.

Objection may be taken to the suggestions in the foregoing argument on the ground that we have brought ivy and ground-ivy into too close connection, and have almost made them equivalent, whereas they belong to different natural orders. Very true, but when we are dealing with traditional mythology we are working from a basis of primitive science ; and it can be seen by a reference to Dioscorides, as well as from the names χαμαίκισσος (ground-ivy), and κισσός, that the early Greek botanists believed the plants in question to be closely related.

Before leaving this point, let me say something about kava itself : for kava also lies at the heart of a problem, the problem of the origin of the Melanesians. Its importance lies in the consideration that all Polynesians and Melanesians drink kava, though they vary somewhat in the manner of its preparation. Then they brought the kava with them at some stage of the migration from Indonesia into Melanesia. In the same way, the Melanesians, as far to the S.E. as the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, chew the betel leaf, for the most part as in Southern India and Ceylon, with the accompaniment of lime and arecanuts. Mr. Rivers, who has recently made such a careful study of Melanesian society, has come to the conclusion¹ that "Melanesian culture is complex, having arisen through the settlement of two immigrant peoples, named after their use of kava and betel, among an earlier population possessing the dual system of society" (i.e. society

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 575.

in two exogamous groups, each group only marrying with the other).

Now Rivers suggests the following sequence of migrations : " First, a people possessing the dual organisation of society ; next, an immigrant people who introduced the use of kava, and were the founders of the secret organisations of Melanesia ; third, a people who introduced the practice of head-hunting and betel-chewing ; and lastly, relatively recent influences, from Polynesia and Micronesia." ¹

According to Rivers, kava differs from betel in that it is used over a more restricted area of the world than the widely diffused betel (ii. 255) ; its use is " limited to Polynesia and Micronesia, Melanesia, including the Admiralty Islands, and New Guinea, and there can be little doubt that it is within this area that we must look for the origin of the practice".

Rivers then goes on to suggest that kava-chewing may be an early form of betel-chewing, the betel pepper being replaced by the kava pepper, and the change from the leaf to the root being the result of an observation made upon a rat who was seen to chew the root and to behave abnormally in consequence. This tradition was told him by a native of the island of Pentecost and confirmed in another quarter. So we should have, first, betel-leaf chewing followed by kava-root chewing, then as the result of a fresh immigration, more betel-leaf chewing by a later generation, and so Melanesian manners are explained.

There is, however, a difficulty in accepting this order of events. It ignores the fact that kava-drinking is a religious act, associated with the chief events of life, while betel-chewing appears to be nothing of the kind. Mr. Rivers admits that (ii. 146) " the drinking of kava is a prominent feature of the ritual of such occasions as birth, initiation, and death, and on these occasions kava is offered to the dead with the accompaniment of a prayer".

There is another objection to Mr. Rivers' statements : if kava is derivative from betel, the practice of chewing is earlier than the custom of grating the root. Certainly, we should say ; but Mr. Rivers strangely thinks that chewing kava is the more recent custom : (ii. 247) " in the Banks and Torres Islands the root is chewed, but

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 290.

in the New Hebrides, which we have *every reason to regard as a region of more archaic culture*, there is no chewing”.

Probably when we know more about the inhabitants of Indonesia and the Malay States, we may find the origin of kava on the mainland, without reference to the betel-pepper at all. At present we do not know the story of the Melanesians sufficiently, before they reached Melanesia. Arguing from language and from the presence of many Aryan roots in the Melanesian vocabulary, Dr. George Brown, who is one of the best skilled of Melanesian missionaries, came to the conclusion that while the people are Turanian, they have been mixed with elements from an Aryan migration: and I believe Dr. Codrington was of the same opinion. Some day we shall know more about the origin of these great migrations, from India and elsewhere into Malaya and thence to Indonesia, by which the South Seas were peopled, and perhaps we shall also know the origin of kava-drinking: the discovery will be a chapter in the history of religion.

And now let us come to the origin of the Cult of Apollo. Our reason for discussing this as a pendant to the study of the Cult of Dionysos, lies in the proved mythological consanguinity of the two gods. They exchange characters and titles, they overlap in function. To some extent this overlapping of function characterises the whole Olympic Pantheon: the gods encroach upon one another to such an extent that Lucian represents Zeus as laying down restrictive laws, and insisting that Asklepios shall not meddle with oracles nor Athena with medicine.

But the relation between Dionysos and Apollo is much closer than that which would be expressed by occasional exchange or invasion of one another's functions. Sometimes their very names seem to be alternative, so that it is not easy to tell which deity is involved in a statement. In a line preserved from the *Likymnios* of Euripides¹ we have an address to

δέσποτα, φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιὰν Ἀπολλων εὖλυρε.

Here Bacchus is invoked who loves the laurel (*Daphne*) (which one would have supposed to be an Apolline title), and is equated with

¹ *Fragg.* ed.² Nauck, 477.

the Paian Apollo. A similar transfer of title is found in a fragment of Æschylus,¹ where Apollo is spoken of as

ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μαντῖς.

Here Apollo has the ivy for his cult symbol, just as in the previous fragment Dionysos had the laurel. Each of these transfers invites the hypothesis that in some sense Dionysos is Apollo.



PLATE I.—COIN OF ALABANDA IN CARIA.

In the same way Apollo appears on the coins of Alabanda.

in Caria as Apollo Κίσσιος, and sometimes the goat of Dionysos is added, or the reverse of the coin bears the ivy-crowned head of Dionysos, if indeed it is Dionysos and not a variant of Apollo. It has also been pointed out that at the festival of the Hyacinthia, ivy-crowns are worn; but this festival certainly belongs to the cycle of Apollo.

The conjectural equivalence becomes a positive statement in the rhetorician Menandros, who tells us that at Delphi the names Apollo and Dionysos are alternatives:—²

Μίθραιν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, ὦρον Αἰγύπτιοι, σὺ γὰρ εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας ἄγεις, Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες.

We knew from other sources that Delphi was almost like a common sanctuary to the two deities. Plutarch had, in fact, told us that Dionysos was almost as much at home in Delphi as Apollo.³ The

¹ Fr. 341. It should, however, be noted that Βακχεύς is Nauck's emendation for βακσιος or καβαιος in the passage of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 18, 6), from which this and the preceding fragment are derived. The observed identity of the two gods is due to Macrobius.

² Menand. *Rhet.* ed. Spengel, iii. 446⁵.

³ Plut. *De Ei. ap. Delphos.* 9. τὸν Διόνυσον ὃ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἦτον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. Sandys' *Bacchae*⁴ xiv, remarks "we find that at Delphi, the god whom we have just described as the offspring of the sky and the rain-cloud, was closely associated with the god of sunshine, Apollo. On the two pediments of the Delphi temple, the art of the sculptor represented the setting of the sun, and the birth of Apollo, together with the forms of Dionysus and his attendant *Thyiades*; while the heights of Parnassus were not sacred to the sun-god alone, but were also the favoured haunts of Dionysus."

A good illustration of this may be found in the archaic Greek mirror,

same identification is suggested for Apollo and Dionysos at Rhodes and elsewhere, with the addition of Helios ; for, according to Dio Chrysostom, it was said τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἡλίον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν, and this is confirmed by Rhodian coins which show Helios (= Apollo) crowned with ivy and grapes in the Dionysiac manner.

• There must, surely, be some underlying reason for these common titles and sanctuary, and for the confusion of the personalities of the deities in question.

Then there is a curious parallelism in the rituals of the two gods, for if the priestess of Apollo chews the laurel for her inspiration, the same thing can be said of the ivy-chewing Maenads, whatever be the meaning of the inspiration sought.

We may refer at this point to a curious case of Bacchic madness, in which the inspired women eat the ivy, the smilax, and the laurel, of which the first two belong to the ritual of Dionysos, and the third to the ritual of Apollo. Antoninus Liberalis records the story of certain maidens who were turned into night-birds. He calls them Minyades, and says they left their father's house, and as Bacchantes on the mountains fed on ivy, smilax, and laurel, until Hermes touched them with his rod and transformed them into birds.

It seems lawful to conclude that the chewing of ivy by the Maenads, and the chewing of laurel by the Pythian priestess are ritual rites of the same significance, and, as was stated above, the intention is the absorption of the god by the worshippers. The cults involved are parallel.

Pursuing the investigation a little further, we come to an important discovery by Mr. A. B. Cook,¹ that the laurel which we are accustomed to regard as so characteristically Apolline, had been substituted for the oak, even at Delphi itself. This time it is Ovid that lets the cat out of the mythological bag. Mr. Cook sums up the matter as follows : "The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid (*Met.* i. 445 . . .), after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the

figured by Miss Harrison in *Themis*, p. 142, where the two gods stand face to face, with the solar disk between them. Here also we have Apollo, Dionysos, and Helios in conjunction.

¹ *European Sky-God*, i. p. 413.

Pythian games were instituted and that ' whoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*aesculeae . . . frondis*) ; *the laurel as yet was not*, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree '. It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi."¹ After having shown the priority of the Delphic oak to the Delphic laurel, Ovid goes on to tell the story of Daphne. We can read back the myth into its original elements. When we give Apollo oak-sanctity, we begin to understand the meaning of his consanguinity with Dionysos. The laurel, then, is surrogate for the oak. The sun-god is, in some way, connected with the Thunder, and with the Sky, before he becomes the patron and spirit of the orb of day. We can find occasional traces of the thunder in the traditions of Apollo. Sometimes his arrows are said to be lightnings : thus Pausanias (iii. 1, 6) says that Aristodemus died by a lightning-stroke, whereas Apollodorus (ii. 173) explains his death as due to an arrow of Apollo, and ' so not by sunstroke, if the two traditions are the same. And that Apollodorus means us to understand that Apollo's arrow is the lightning, appears from another passage (i. 139) where

Ἀπόλλων . . . τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν.

Mr. A. B. Cook offers a further suggestion of Apollō's connection with the lightning, in the observation that "two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named Bronte and Sterope, thunder and lightning," and remarks acutely that "the Sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god".²

He also points out a singularly apposite parallel in the Babylonian theology, with its close inter-relation of Shamash (the Sun-god) and Ramman (the Thunder-god) as Shamash-Ramman. "These two

¹ Ovid, *Met.* i. 445 *sqq.* :—

c " Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos
Pythia perdomitae serpentis nomine dictos.
His iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
Vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.
Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
Primus amor Phoebe Daphne Peneia. . . "

² *Zeus*, i. 337.

conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem diametrically opposed, are in point of fact by no means incompatible. 'In many mythologies, says Dr. Jastrow, the sun and the lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and Ramman cannot have been accidental.'"¹

These very luminous comments show us the direction in which to look for the solution of our problem. It is the original Sky-god (= oak-god) that has shown the two faces, one bright and one dark. Dionysos stands to Apollo in the ratio of the dark sky to the bright. More exactly, they are both Sky-gods, but Dionysos belongs to the dark sky with traces of the bright sky. With Apollo it is the converse order. Each is a child of Zeus, but Dionysos is on the thunder-side of the house, Apollo on the sunshiny side. But as we have shown, they are not so very far apart; Apollo does sometimes handle the thunder.²

We can take a further step in the investigation. Each of the two gods is concerned in the production of fire, and their vegetable symbols show that each of them may be described as a fire-stick. We have already explained that the ivy became a fire-stick, because such fire-sticks are naturally made out of wood which has been recognised as containing the sacred fire, the lightning, and which are able under friction to give out again the fire which they have concealed. It is well known that our ancestors made fire by friction of oak-wood. For instance, as Frazer points out,³ "perpetual fires, kindled with the wood of certain oak-trees, were kept up in honour of Perkunas; if such a fire went out it was lighted again by friction

¹ *Zeus*, i. 578.

² In replacing the Delphic laurel, as we shall presently do, by a previous cult-oak, we may have to replace the laurel-maiden by an oak-maiden. Is she Dryope? or is *Dryope* another name for the woodpecker? We are in the oak-area for certain. Probably *Dryope* is really an oak-maiden, and it is Dryops, her father, that is the woodpecker. Mr. Cook points out that after Dryope had visited the temple of Apollo, she was carried off by the Hamadryads, who caused a poplar to spring up in her place. Note the suggestion of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak. I am inclined to suggest that the original name of Dryops was *Dryopikos* (the Oak-Picus), which was wrongly taken to be an adjective. We get a similar form in the *Epinal Glossary*, 648: *finā* = *marsopicus* (i.e. *Picus Martius*).

³ *Magic Art*, ii. 366.

of the sacred wood". He goes on to observe that "men sacrificed to oak-trees for good crops, while women did the same for lime-trees ; from which we may infer that they regarded oaks as male and lime-trees as female". The sex distinction in firewoods arose by natural analogy, the boring-stick being regarded as male, the other as female. That is, the lime-tree is the female conjugate of the oak in the making of sacred fire. The sex of the stick is not constant ; it is defined by the relative hardness of two kinds of woods : ivy might be male, for example, to laurel ; it might be female to oak.¹ It is not the case in the first definition that the ivy is male to the oak, because it clasps and rings the oak. As a matter of fact its embrace might be interpreted in quite the opposite sense. Shakespeare makes the ivy feminine in *Midsummer Night's Dream* :—

The female Ivy so
Enrings the barky fingers of the Elm.

(Act IV. sc. i.)

But these sexual specifications are mere poetic imaginings ; primitive man was occupied with a more practical view of things ; he wanted to find out which woods made fire, and to construct for himself a scale of relative hardness of the sacred woods out of which fire could be made. If he used two pieces of the same wood, one piece was male and the other female. If he used oak and ivy, one kind of wood was male and the other female.

Now recall our observation that the laurel at Delphi was a surrogate for the oak. The natural suggestion is that at Delphi, the laurel as a fire-stick has replaced some earlier wood. It may have been that oak and oak have been replaced by oak and laurel : the laurel will be the softer wood and is female. Now we begin to see daylight on some mythological amours : there is the case of

Dionysos and Caroea (Miss Nutt):
and Apollo and Daphne (Miss Laurel).

It is the fire-sticks that explain the mythology.

¹ The wood of the plane-tree, for instance, is male to the wood of the birch. Thus when the Russian peasants make the *givoy agon* or living fire, the proceeding is described as follows : "Some men hold the ends of a stick made of the plane-tree, very dry and about a fathom long. This stick they hold firmly over one of birch, perfectly dry, and rub with violence, and quickly, against the former ; the birch, which is somewhat softer than the plane, in a short time inflames" (E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 259).

On this showing, Apollo would be some kind of wood : we have nearly shorn him of his sunbeams. We are to look for his origin in the vegetable world, just as we found Dionysos hiding away behind the ivy. In what direction shall we look ? Our first suggestion would be that we should look oak-wards ; for we have come to suspect that the oak, in the worship of Apollo, had anterior sanctity to the laurel. The analogy of the Dionysian cult suggests that we look for one of the parasites of the oak. Now the singular thing about the oak-cult is that the oak contains within itself the differentiation of the cult of the Sky, into bright sky and dark sky, to which we were just now alluding. The ivy is the symbol of the thunder, the mistletoe is the symbol of the sunshine : but even in the mistletoe there are suggestions of thunder and lightning, as, for instance, when Balder is killed by an arrow that is made from a piece of mistletoe. Shall we say, then, that Apollo, who is the bright sky with suggestions of thunder is the mistletoe ? There is something to be said for the solution, though perhaps the real answer is not quite so simple.

Mistletoe in Greek is ἰξός ; and its solar value is attested by the story of Ixion, the mistletoe-man, who goes round and round in Hades on a solar wheel. But Apollo himself is a mistletoe-man. There was a town in the island of Rhodes called Ἰξίαι, and this town of Ixiai, or Mistletoe-town, worshipped Apollo under the title of Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων, or the Mistletoe-Apollo. The parallel with the Ivy-Dionysos worshipped at Acharnai, is obvious. We shall make the suggestion, then, that Apollo is either the mistletoe, or something connected with mistletoe : only, as in the case of ivy, it should be the mistletoe *on the tree*, deriving its sanctity from the oak, in which the Sky dwells animistically as sunshine or as thunder.

Assuming, then, the connection of Apollo with the mistletoe we have to examine into the distribution of the mistletoe and the trees upon which it appears. We are told by Frazer (G.B. xi.) to distinguish between the *Viscum Album*, which seldom grows on oaks, but most commonly on apple-trees, or poplars, and the *Loranthus Europaeus*, which attacks chiefly oaks. Suppose we find the mistletoe growing freely on some other tree than the oak, say on a poplar or a pine, will it not be a natural conclusion that it has brought with

it the sanctity of the oak, of which the parasite has become the carrier? And if we were right in detecting at Delphi an original Oak-Apollo, will it not follow that we may also expect to come across cases of a Poplar-Apollo, or of an Apollo of the apple-tree? Whichever kind of mistletoe is the original Golden Bough, it is clear that in England we chiefly know the mistletoe on the apple-tree, while in Brittany one is constantly reminded of its presence on the poplar. So we will make quest of the various forms in which Apollo may appear.

First of all we ask for traces of poplar sanctity and of association of the tree with Apollo. Here again we are indebted to the investigations of Mr. A. B. Cook, who, without making use of the mistletoe as a link, had detected a transfer of the Oak-Apollo to the Poplar-Apollo. He states his case as follows in the *European Sky-god* (p. 419):—

“We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo *Σμυνθεύς* standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him. Another coin of Apollonia Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear the tops of three poplar-trees.¹ Apollo, then, in several of the most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the *αἰγιερος*, a word which meant ‘oak’ before it meant ‘poplar’.”

(He compares *aesculus* = *aeg-sculus*.)

Finally, Mr. Cook argues that the name Apollo in its primitive form *Apellon*, is to be explained by a gloss of Hesychius that *ἀπελλόν· αἰγιερος ὃ ἐστι εἶδος δένδρου*, i.e. *Apellon, a poplar, a kind of tree*. We shall return to this derivation later.

We have now shown that there is some reason for the belief in a vegetable-Apollo, connected with the oak, and its surrogates the poplar and the laurel. In the case of the laurel, the connection is probably through the fire-stick, in the case of the poplar through the mistletoe. Next let us ask whether there is any probability that the mistletoe carried its sanctity to the apple-tree. Is that also to be described as a vegetable-Apollo? Shall we look for an apple-Apollo as another form of the mistletoe-Apollo, and comparable

¹ The identification of the numismatic trees is not quite certain.

with the Ivy Dionysos? From inscriptions found at Epidaurus, we actually recover what looks like an Apollo of the apple-tree in the form Apollo Μαλεάτης (from μαλέα, an apple-tree). Usener makes the parallel for us with Dionysos συκεάτης from συκέα, and δένδριτης from δένδρον. The word can only mean a god of the apple-tree: that is, it is derived from μῆλον (Latin *malum*).¹ As, however, Maleates is thrown into the Asklepios-cult by its occurrence in Epidaurus, attempt has been made to derive it in a geographical sense, from Malea, supposed to be a centre of Asklepios worship. The name is, however, too widely diffused for this, or similar, location.

It turns up again, without the attached Apollo, in an inscription, τῶι Μαλεάται, from Selinus;² and in the temple of Asklepios at Athens sacrifice was made first to Maleates and then to Apollo. Thus the three deities Apollo, Maleates, and Asklepios are again in connection with one another. Usener thinks that the two cults of Apollo and Maleates have been fused; they are almost united in the Athenian ritual. It would be simpler to say that the Cult of Apollo the Healer has reached Athens on two different lines.³

This is not the whole of the evidence: there are traces of an Apollo Μαλοῖς, which must surely be related to Apollo Maleates; in an inscription from Lesbos (IGI. ii. 484) we find as follows:—

τὰς
τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Μαλ(οέ)ντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἱε-
ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων.

¹ It cannot come from μῆλον a sheep, for this has no form μᾶλον corresponding to it in dialect. Dr. Sandys thinks this statement is too strong. He says that "it is true that μῆλον, 'sheep,' has an original ē (and in this respect differs from μᾶλον 'apple'), and that Ahrens, *De Dialecto Dorica*, p. 153 regards μᾶλον, *pecus*, in Pindar, as *Hyperdoricum et librarius debitum*, but it is impossible to ignore the fact that μᾶλα is used for *pecora* in Theocr. viii, 2 and 16".

² The inscription is IGA. 57. Note also the term Μαλοφόρος (? for Demeter) in the temple of Apollo at Selinus (Roscher *Lex.*, ii. 2306).

³ The inscription is CIA. ii. 3, n. 1651. We should consult for the foregoing Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, pp. 87, 89 ff., and Preller-Robert, *Gk. Myth.* i. 252. The latter says the cult exists at Sparta as well as Epidaurus, and suggests a Thessalian origin. (?)

It seems then, natural to conclude that we have evidence to warrant us in a belief in an Apollo of the Apple-tree.¹

With regard to the occurrence of both Apollo and Maleates at Athens, Farnell justly observes² that "two sacrifices to the same divinity under different names are not infrequently prescribed in the same ritual code". He thinks, however, that the objection made on the ground of quantity holds: "the verses of Isyllos have this value, if no other, that they prove that the first vowel in *Μαλεάτης* was short; we must abandon . . . the supposition that the term could designate the 'god of sheep' or the 'god of the apple-tree'". So he looks for a geographical explanation either from Cape Malea at the South of Laconia, or an obscure place of the same name in Arcadia. The solution does not seem to me to be satisfactory: it does not explain the duplication of Apollo and Maleates, nor find ground for the diffusion of the title; it leaves Apollo Maloeis still in obscurity, and loses sight of the parallel with Dionysos Sukeates. Probably some other explanation may be found of the short vowel in the Paean of Isyllos: the progression of the accent in Maleates might have something to do with it.

The actual passage in Isyllos is as follows:—

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης
εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπίου, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἀγνοῦ
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

Isyllos himself derives the epithet Maleates from an eponymous *Mālos*, whose name he scans with a long *alpha* in the very same line in which *Μαλεάτα* is introduced, as follows:—

πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
βῶμον κτέ.

There is, therefore, no reason against our scanning the end of the line as

βωμοῦ θύσαις Μᾶλεᾶτᾱ

with spondaic ending and synizesis of the vowels (compare the spondaic ending of the first of the lines quoted above).

¹ The inscription will be found in Conze, *Tab. XVIII.* 1. Bechtel, *Dialektinschr.* n. 255. Hoffmann, n. 168. Gruppe objects to the apple-tree, apparently on the ground that the first *a* in *Μαλεάτης* is short. But *vide infra*.

² *Cults*, iv. 237.

There seems to be no reason for ruling out the form *Μαλεάτης* in the way that Gruppe and Farnell get rid of it. Moreover, there are other possible explanations, though perhaps none is so probable as the one which is given above.

We must not forget that we have definite proof that the apple-tree was sacred at Delphi to the god Apollo. That comes out from a passage in Lucian's *Anacharsis*¹ where Solon explains that the prizes in athletic contests are "At Olympia a wreath of wild olive, at the Isthmus one of pine, at Nemea of parsley, at *Pytho* some of the god's sacred apples". It will be difficult to ignore this bit of evidence; Farnell (p. 134) admits that "the laurel, the plane-tree, the tamarisk, *even the apple-tree*, are sacred to him," and that "some of his appellatives (!) are derived from them".

The statement of Lucian may be illustrated (as Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me) from a Delphian coin which shows the apples on the victor's table. We shall refer presently to the silver dish from Corbridge on the Tyne, containing, perhaps, a variant version of the *Judgment of Paris*, with the scene laid at Delphi, and Apollo, on that supposition, in the place of Paris. In this representation, we have the apple depicted on the altars of the god. On one altar we have certainly the Delphic apple: on the other we either have two apples, with a flame between them, or as Mr. A. B. Cook thinks, two fire-fenders evolved out of a pair of archaic ritual horns. One apple suffices me for the desired cult-symbol. As to the meaning of the silver dish from the North of England, we shall have more to say presently.



PLATE II.—COIN OF DELPHI.

To Mr. Cook I am also indebted for a couple of valuable confirmations of the theory of a cult-relation between Apollo and the apple.

The first is from the coins of Eleutherna in Crete, which have on one side a nude Apollo seated, with a round object in his right hand and a bow in his left.² This round object is commonly taken to be a stone; but Mr. Cook is almost certain, from a copper coin of



PLATE III.—COIN OF ELEUTHERNA IN CRETE.

¹ *Anacharsis*, 9.

² Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Macon, 1890, p. 138 f., pl. 12, 18 f.

Eleutherna in his own possession, showing Apollo with an apple in his hand, that the round object referred to is an apple.¹

The next piece of evidence is more difficult to interpret. There was a famous sanctuary of Apollo, near Klazomenai, known as the Grynaean grove. The name was apparently derived from Grynos, an oak-stump, and is suggestive of the original connection of Apollo with the oak-tree. In this Grynaean grove was a tree bearing apples, which was the centre of a dispute between Mopsos and Colchas, who divined the number of apples on the tree. Note the connection of the sacred apple-tree with the sanctuary of Apollo.²

To the foregoing we may, perhaps, add the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells of the metamorphosis of the virgin Ktesulla into a white dove. This young lady was dancing at the Pythian festival by the altar of Apollo, and a certain Hermochares became enamoured of her, and sent a declaration of love inscribed on an apple. We see again the prominence given to the apple at Delphi, in the Pythian Festival, not only to the apple as the symbol of the god, but as a means of divination. Apparently what Hermochares did was to write on the apple the oracular statement that "You will wed an Athenian named Hermochares"; then he opened negotiations with the young lady's father, being previously unknown to either. This custom of writing an oracle upon an apple for subsequent elucidation is well known to us from the *Judgment of Paris*, with its apple inscribed *To the Fair*. Divination by apples still survives in out-of-the-way corners. An old English custom is to peel an apple spirally, and throw the skin over your head without breaking it. The fate and shape of the projected apple-paring will tell your fortune in love, and reveal by its curves the name of your true lord or lady. Here it is in verse from the poet Gay :—³

This mellow pippin which I pare around
My shepherd's name shall flourish on the ground.
If fling th' unbroken paring o'er my head,
Upon the grass a perfect L is read.

L stands for Lubberkin the desired shepherd.

¹ Cf. B.M. Cat. Crete, pl. 8, 12 f.

² *Myth. Vat.* i. 194. Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 72.

³ Gay, *The Shepherd's Week*. (The custom referred to is not confined to the British Isles; I have noted it in Norway and in Mesopotamia. It is a very old folk-custom.)

My lady friends tell me they still practise this method of divination, which commonly results in an oracular S for their shepherd's name.

To the previous reasoning an objection may be made that the action of Hermochares in throwing the apple is nothing more than a conventional love-token. For example, here are cases of such love-apple throwing from the Greek Anthology :—

No. 78.

τῷ μῆλῳ βάλλω σε · σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκούσα φίλέϊς με,
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος ·
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁ μὴ γίγνεται νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα,
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

No. 79.

Μῆλον ἐγώ · βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις · ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη · καγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

In each of these epigrams the apple is the love-token thrown by the man at the woman, with the warning that rejected love means fading beauty, the apple being in that case the symbol of decay which answers to the roses in the lines :—

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying, etc.

No doubt the custom of love-making by apple-throwing existed. At the same time, this does not quite meet the case of Hermochares and Ktesulla at the Pythian Festival. Here the apple is sacred as well as amatory, and we naturally expect an oracle. The custom for the gods to write decrees and oracles on fruit is not confined to Greek life. For example, in a painting on one of the rooms in the Memnonium, Rameses the second is seen seated under a persea-tree, on the fruits of which the supreme deity as Ra-Tum, the goddess of wisdom, and the sacred scribe (Thoth) are writing the name of the Pharaoh. Again, at Medinet Habou, Thothmes III is led before the tree of life by Hathor and Thoth, and on the fruits of the tree the god Amon-Ra is seen to be inscribing a sacred formula.¹

So here again we have the custom of writing oracles on fruits : and we infer that if the love-passage between Hermochares and Ktesulla had been a mere case of apple-throwing there would have

¹ Joret, *Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, i. 262.

been no reference to an inscription and no allusion to the Pythian Festival,¹ nor to the temple of Artemis into which the apple was thrown.

Here is another interesting confirmation of the connection between Apollo and the apple, and the diviner's art. In a Patmos scholion to a passage in Thucydides the object of which is to explain the title *Μαλόμεῖς* as applied to Apollo, we are told that there was a young woman, a daughter of Teiresias, whose name was Manto; when she was dancing one day, she lost a golden apple out of her necklace, and being sad over its loss she vowed that if she ever found it, she would establish a shrine in honour of Apollo; this actually happened, and Apollo was worshipped accordingly under the title of Apollo Maloeis. Note the recurrent features in the story: the young lady is a priestess of Apollo; while her name (Manto) and her parentage (Teiresias) alike show that she is skilled in the art of the diviner. She is ornamented with a necklace of golden apples, to which it is natural to ascribe a religious significance; they are symbolic of the ritual and of the god to whose service she is attached.²

¹ For further reference with regard to apple-throwing see Gaidoz, *La requisition d'amour et le symbolisme de la pomme* (École pratique des sciences historiques et philologiques, 1902). B. O. Foster, *Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Antiquity*, x. 39 ff. For the foregoing and other references I am not a little indebted to Mr. A. B. Cook. Gaidoz shows that in the Irish story of Condlá the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple. He now goes without food or drink for a month, living only on the magic apple, which grows again as fast as it is eaten. See also Vergil, *Ecl.* 3, 64, for apple-throwing by the nymph Galatea:—

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

But this is from Theocritus.

² The passage is as follows (see *Rev. de Phil.* i. 185):—

Μάντω ἡ Τειρεσίου περὶ τοὺς τόπους χωρεύουσα
τούτους μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραιῶν ἀπάλεσεν·
εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὔροι, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ.
εὔρουσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ
Μαλοεῖς Ἀπόλλων ἐντεύθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο.

The same incident is referred to by Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. *Μαλλόμεῖς* (sic), who took his information from the *Lesbika* of Hellanikos:—

Μαλλόμεῖς· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλλόμεῖς,
ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆλου τῆς Μαντούς, ὡς Ἑλλανικὸς ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτῳ.

We may be asked parenthetically at this point, whether, in view of the use of the apple for purposes of divination, and the occurrence of the apple as a sacred symbol in the Cult of Apollo, we ought not to regard the famous *Judgment of Paris* as a modification of a previous *Judgment of Apollo*. The name by which Paris is commonly known in the Iliad is Alexandros, which need not be interpreted martially, as the Defender of other men, but is capable of bearing the meaning ἀλεξίκακος, which Macrobius says is given to Apollo, the Averter, i.e. of witchcrafts, poisons, etc.

Now it is not a little curious that we actually are said to have an artistic version of the apple-judgment in which Apollo takes the place of Paris, and makes the interpretation of the oracle inscribed on his own apple. The representation in question is upon a silver dish to which we have already referred, found at Corbridge near the Roman Wall in the year 1735. It will be found described by Professor Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1915, Pt. I, pp. 66-75. It represents a scene at Delphi, with the three great goddesses of the judgment in the centre, flanked on the left by Artemis (who seems to occupy the position of Hermes) and on the right by Apollo, with his bow in one hand, and his lyre at his back. It is certainly surprising that the scene of the judgment should be laid at Delphi and not on Mt. Ida. Is it really a *Judgment of Paris*, as has been suggested? Upon this Professor Gardner remarks as follows:—

“The difficulty will be raised that the scene of judgment is not Ida but Delphi, and Apollo takes the place of Paris as judge. Apollo is certainly at home in his chief shrine. The Altar at his feet and the griffin indicate Delphi, and the fountain Castalia is symbolized by the vase to the left, where a rocky ground is clearly indicated. . . . It seems paradoxical to cite as a representation of the *Judgment of Paris* a scene where Paris does not appear . . . and where Delphi and not Ida is set forth as the place of the event. But we are justified in doing this because we have proof in several of the vases of Italian origin, that in one of the versions of the myth current in Hellenistic times Paris was thus superseded by Apollo.

“We have first a vase at Vienna of the fourth century B.C. on which, though Paris is present, the scene is shown to be Delphi, by the presence of Apollo leaning against his laurel, and a tripod.

Later Paris disappears, as on an Apulian vase, where we have the three goddesses and Hermes, but no Paris, at Delphi, which is indicated by the sacred omphalos, and on either side of the omphalos we have figures of Zeus and Apollo. Apollo is seated as one at home, and Zeus is addressing him, evidently referring to him the point in dispute. . . . On another Italian vase, where the scene is still Delphi, as is shown by the presence of the omphalos, Zeus and not Apollo is seated on a throne as arbiter."

Professor Gardner suggests that these monuments do represent an actual shifting of the tradition which he takes to be a shifting from Paris, who actually judges, to Apollo who ought to judge. At all events, it is clear that the Corbridge dish is not to be treated as containing a representation belonging to a silversmith of the third century A.D.,¹ but as containing a tradition of a much earlier period. And the question arises whether, if the theme has rightly been identified, the real shifting of the tradition is not in the opposite direction to that assumed by Professor Gardner, in view of the fact which we have brought to light that the apple which, with its oracle, is the real centre of the tradition, belongs to Apollo and should naturally be subject to his interpretation. The objection to this will be the well-attested antiquity of the Paris tradition. It is a very strong objection, but not a vital one, in view of the known persistence of folk-lore variants side by side with the canonical forms of a legend.

There is, however, a further possibility which may have to be reckoned with. Paris himself may be a duplicate Apollo who has either lost celestial rank or never quite attained to it, some primitive herb or herbalist, an *ἀλεξιφάρμακος*, of the Apolline order, just as Helen, whom he espouses, is suspect of being an original vegetable-deity. This would require that Paris also had an original apple-tree, on which oracles could be written. The problem is not yet capable of evaluation. I incline to believe that the solution lies in a displacement of Apollo (perhaps in his shepherd life) by the shepherd of Mt. Ida. To hold this opinion, it is not necessary to accept Professor Gardner's identification of the scene depicted on the Corbridge dish. That might be merely a group of Delphic deities, with associated

¹ "It clearly is the work," says Professor Gardner, "not of an inventive artist but of a long-established and well-trained school. In its fabric we can see the results of many generations of trained artificers."

cult-symbols, and need not have any historical or quasi-historical meaning.

If we have found our apple-god, we must not leave the consideration of this part of the subject without venturing at least a suggestion as to the reason for finding the apple-god in the neighbourhood of Asklepios. It may have arisen from the simple fact that, to the ancients, mistletoe and ivy both had medical value. The mistletoe, in particular, was almost a panacea; and ivy retained its medical value nearly to our own times, as we have seen above from Gerarde's *Herball*. This is not in the least affected by the fact that both plants are medically worthless! If one wants to see the value of mistletoe, let him visit the Ainu of Japan, and ask what they think of it. Here is a reference from Mr. Batchelor's book, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore* (p. 222):—

"The Ainu, like many nations of Northern origin, hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine, *good in almost every disease*, and it is sometimes taken in food and at others separately as a decoction. . . . The mistletoe which grows upon the willow is supposed to have the greatest efficacy. This is because the willow is looked upon by them as being a specially sacred tree."

That is a very good specimen of how primitive medicine is evolved. Perhaps Apollo owes his healing art to his connection with the mistletoe! For it is not only in far distant Saghalien or Japan that the mistletoe is regarded as a panacea. Pliny (H.N. 16, 44, 95) reports that the Druids called it in their language *omnia sanantem*: which, according to Grimm is the Welsh *olhiach* or *all-heal*.¹ Thus East and West, which are supposed never to meet, are united in their medical judgment.

The way to test this statement of the medical value of the mistletoe is to consult the early medical writers, and the best way to approach them is through the early Herbals, of which we have already given a striking example in the use of ivy and of ground-ivy. It must be remembered that the medicine of which we speak is coloured on the one hand by astrological influences (each herb having its own planet), and on the other by the doctrine of sympathies.

¹ The matter is discussed at length in Frazer, G.B. xi. 77 *sqq.*

Suppose, then, we turn to Culpepper's Herbal, and see what he says about mistletoe :—¹

"(*Mistletoe*) *Government and Virtues*. This is under the dominion of the Sun, I do not question ; and can also take for granted that which grows upon oaks participates something of the nature of Jupiter, because an oak is one of his trees ; as also that which grows upon pear-trees and apple-trees participates something of his nature, because he rules the tree that it grows upon, having no root of its own. But why that should have most virtues that grows upon oaks I know not, unless because it is rarest and hardest to come by. . . . Clusius affirms that which grows upon pear-trees to be as prevalent, and gives order that it should not touch the ground after it is gathered ; and also saith that, being hanged about the neck, it remedies witchcraft."

How redolent of antiquity this bit of folk-medicine is ! The mistletoe shows its solar virtue ; its connection with the sky-god through the oak in which the sky-god dwells ; and its transfer of its sanctity from the oak-tree to the apple, and it has, beside specific curative powers, the function of averting evil, in the comprehensive terms of witchcraft. Moreover, in a secondary sense, the sky-god and his power, resides in apple-tree and in pear-tree ; and Culpepper (or Clusius whom he quotes) might almost be a Druid in his care for the gathering of his medicine and his prohibition against its falling on the ground. It is just such a passage as the one we have quoted that brings out the parallelism between the mistletoe and the god Apollo, and helps us to see the latter as a projection from the former and from the tree on which it grows.

Those persons who tried to explain Apollo as the Averter were certainly right in fact, whatever they might have been in philology, for it is an exact description of the functions of the mistletoe, as well as the primitive belief of the early worshippers of the god in Grecian lands : and we see again that the plant is the real healer and the god its reflection.

It is very interesting to watch how medicine has evolved from the stage of the herbalist with his all-heal or panacea to that of the

¹ I quote from the edition of 1815 (p. 116), the first edition is, I believe, 1653. It follows Gerarde and other Herbalists, but has many observations and bits of traditions of its own, some of them evidently of great antiquity.

scientific man with his highly differentiated remedies. The progress of medicine has been phenomenally slow. In the eighteenth century it was still necessary in England to warn the domestic practitioner that the same herb would not cure all diseases or even the greater part of them. Here is an interesting passage from a medical herbalist, John Hill, M.D., a member of the Imperial Academy, who writes in the year 1770 on the *Virtues of British Herbs*, with an account of the diseases that they will cure.

P. viii: "This knowledge is not to be sought for in the old Herbals; they contain but a small part of it: and what they hold is locked up in obscurity. They are excessive in their praises; and in saying too much they say nothing. *All virtues are, in a manner, attributed to all Plants*, and 'tis the skill alone of a Physician that can separate in those that have any, which is the true. Turn to the Herbals of Gerarde, Parkinson, or the more antient Turner, and you shall find in many instances, virtues of the most exalted kind related to Herbs, which, if you were to eat daily as sallads, would cause no alteration in the body." If we may judge from early Greek or modern Ainu medicine, the mistletoe should come under the historical judgment which Dr. Hill enunciates.

Now let us turn to the region of philology and see if we can find out the meaning of the name Apollo.

According to Gruppe, Apollon is Ionic, but the Greek dialects show that there was originally an E in the place of O. Thus, we have, following Plato, the form Ἀπολῶν in Thessaly; and we find Ἀπειλῶν (which is clearly for Ἀπελῶν) in Cyprus; Ἀπέλλων is reported for Dreros and Knossos. The earlier form is commonly held to be involved in the name of the Macedonian Month Ἀπελλαῖος. The Oscan form is *Appellun* (Usener, *Götternamen*, 308), and the Etruscan is *Aplu*, *Aplun*, or *Apulu*.¹ We need not spend time over the Greek attempts to explain a word of which they had lost the meaning. No one would now propose a derivation from ἀπολύω or ἀπόλλυμι, or ἀπελαύνω. The only ancient derivation which finds any favour to-day is Macrobius' explanation:² "ut Apollinem apellentem intellegas, quem Athenienses ἀλεξίκακον

¹ See Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker*, i. 820.

² Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 17, 14 ff.

appellant". This explanation of Apollo as the *Averter*, from a lost Greek stem corresponding to the Latin *pello* is, I believe, the one that finds most favour to-day.

But why should we not affirm a simpler solution, if we are to go outside the covers of the Greek lexicon? The Greeks, and in part the Latins, had no primitive word for apple: *malum* and *pomus* are philologically afterthoughts. What hinders our saying that *Apellon* is simply *apple*? We should, then, understand at a glance the title *Apollo Maleates*, and the curious duplication of Apollo and Maleates in the Asklepios cult in Athens.

The professional etymologists do not know anything about the origin of our word *apple*. Skeat, in his *Etym. Dict.*, gives us the following:—

“ M.E. *appel*, *appil*.
 A.S. *aepl*, *aeppel*.
 O. Fries. } *appel*.
 Du. }
 Icel. *epli*.
 Swed. *äple*, *äpple*.
 Dan. *aeble*.
 OHG. *aphol*, *aphul*.
 G. *apfel*.
 Irish. *abhal*.
 Gael. *ubhal*.
 Welsh. *afal*.
 Bret. *aval*.

cf. also

Russ. *jabloko*.
 Lith. *obolys*, etc.”

and then remarks, “origin unknown: some connect it with Abella in Campania: cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740. This is not satisfactory.” Thus Skeat: but perhaps without doing justice to the Vergilian reference; when Vergil speaks of *maliferae moenia Abellae*, we need not derive apple from Abella, but it is quite conceivable that the city may be derived philologically from its fruit. We will return to this point presently.

My suggestion, then, is that the name Apollo (*Apellon*) came

from the North, the region of the Hyperboreans to which tradition refers the god ; and that it is the exact equivalent of the apple-tree. We are dealing with a borrowed cult, and with a loan-word. If this can be maintained without violence to philological considerations, it will harmonise exactly with the parallel case of Dionysos, and with the investigations which have led us to the hypothesis of an apple-tree god. It will explain what has sometimes caused perplexity, the want of any parallel to Apollo in the Northern religions. He is really there both as sacred apple-tree and as mistletoe, but is not personified, unless he should turn out to be Balder.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether the interpretation suggested will not require one or two other re-interpretations. For example, the month Apellaeus in the Macedonian calendar is commonly interpreted as Apollo's month, on the analogy of Dios as the month of Zeus. There is, however, a possibility that it may mean apple-month, just as Lenaeon means vintage-month. I have not, however, as yet succeeded in finding an ancient calendar with an apple-month in it.¹ The actual position of the month Apellaeus in the Macedonian calendar is also not quite clear. It may be September or October, but it may be later. At Delphi it appears to be the first month of the year and has been equated with June.

Another question that may be asked relates to that part of Italy, on the Adriatic side, which goes by the name of Apulia. It is generally held that this is a name given to the country by Greek colonists, who named it after their god. The form is very near to the Etruscan spelling (Aplu, Apulun), but we should have expected something more like Apollonia if the god were meant. There is, moreover, a question whether it may not have been named apple-land, much in the same way as the Norse navigators gave the name of Vinland to the part of the American coast which they discovered, perhaps at a time when the wild grapes were ripe. There is another very interesting parallel that may be adduced in this connection. • When King Arthur died, he was carried away to the islands of the blessed, to the island of Avalon or Avilion : the name is Celtic, very nearly the

¹ There is an apple-month in Byzantium, by the name *Μαλοφόριος* equated with the Attic-month Pyanepsion, i.e. September or October. See Bischoff, *De fastis Gr. antiq.*, 374.

Breton form for apple.¹ And it was an apple-country to which Arthur was carried, a fact which Tennyson has versified for us :—

The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not rain, or hail or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, *fair with orchard-lawns.*

It is, then, quite possible that the name Apulia was given by Greek settlers, not from religious motives, but in harmony with their first observations of the products of the country. Here, however, as in the case of the month Apellaeus, we are at present in the region of unsupported conjecture.

We have inferred that Apollo is a loan-word in Greek derived from a Northern name for the apple.

Now let us return to the point which came up in regard to the suggested derivation of apple from *Abella* in Campania. Our contention is that the derivation is in the reverse order, and that *Abella* is an apple-town, just as, for example, Appledore in N. Devon. The difficulty in the former supposition is that all the sound-changes in the various words for *apple* from Lithuania to Ireland are perfectly regular ; so that we should have to assume that the form *Abal* was borrowed by the Celts in one of their early Italian invasions and transferred to the Northern nations, before the characteristic sound-changes had been produced. It seems much easier to suggest that the motion has been in the opposite direction, and that the Celts brought the word into Italy, instead of discovering the fruit there, and naming it after the place where they found it. In which connection we note that Vergil, who has spoken of the " walls of apple-bearing *Abella*," goes on to speak of the un-Italian martial habits of the people of *Abella*, who follow the warriors of the North in their military customs :—

Et quos maliferae despectant moenia Abellae,
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.

Aen. vii. 740, 1.

The original settlers of *Abella* may conceivably have been Celts.² O. Schrader puts the case as follows for the borrowing of the fruit by the Celts :—

¹ See Friend, *Flowers and Flower-lore*, i. 199.

² See further, p. 55.

"As the names of most of our fruit trees come from the Latin : cherry (*cerasus*), fig (*ficus*), pear (*pirus*), mulberry (*morus*), plum (*prunus*), etc.—I would rather assume that the names of the apple . . . are to be derived from Italy, from a town of fruitful Campania, celebrated for the cultivation of fruit-trees, *Abella*, modern *Avella Vecchia*. Here the cultivation of another fruit, the nut, was so important that *abellana* sc. *nux* = *nux*. In the same way the Irish *aball* . . . may have come from *malum abellanum* as the German *pfirsich* comes from *malum persicum*. . . .

"Attractive, however, as this derivation is, as regards the facts, I do not disguise from myself that phonetically the regularity with which Ir. *b* (*aball*), Dutch *p* (Eng. *apple*), H.G. *pf* (*apfel*), Lith. *b* (*óbulas*) correspond to each other, is disturbing in a set of loan-words. In Teutonic, especially, there seem to be no Latin loan-words which have been subjected to the First Sound-shifting. I assume, accordingly, that the Celts, as early as their inroad into Italy, took into their language a word corresponding to the Irish *aball*, which spread to the Teutons before the First Sound-shifting, and thence to the other Northern members of the Indo-Germanic family" (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. by F. B. Jevons. Lond. 1890, p. 276).

Some years later Schrader went further with the inquiry, and admitted that "it was possible that, after all, *Abella* might be originally related to the North European names for the apple, and that *the place might be named after the fruit and not the fruit after the place*"¹ (*Real-Lexikon der indogermanischen Altertums*. Strassburg, 1901, 43).

It would seem to be involved in the preceding argument that the fundamental characteristic of the Cult of Apollo is to be sought in the region of medicine ; to put it in the language of mythology, that he was Paian before he was Apollo. Assuming that Paian or Paion is the proper term to be applied to a god of healing,* as to Zeus, Asklepios, Apollo, or Dionysos, we have to look for the origin of the

¹ Precisely the same conclusion is reached, but with a more positive statement, by Hoops in *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen in germanischen Alterthum* (Strassburg, 1905, p. 477 ff.). Feist, on the other hand, thinks the question must be left undecided (*Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*. Berlin, 1913, p. 190).

Healer in the plant that heals. Zeus and Asklepios will be healers through the links that bind them to the oak and the magic mistletoe : Dionysos will become medical because he is ivy, and ivy has great prominence in primitive medicine, for reasons which we have explained. The case of Apollo considered as a healer who personifies a healing plant, may be a little more complex ; we have shown how he is connected with the mistletoe and the apple-tree ; and also with the laurel ; there are suspicions, however, that he may be also connected with the peony, or Paian-flower, of which folk-medicine has so much to say. Then there is the curious tradition that, in the country of the Hyperboreans, there was a sacred garden dedicated to Apollo, and a worship of the god the priesthood of which cult was in the hands of the family of Boreads. Was this garden merely an apple-orchard with mistletoe growing on the trees, or may it not be possible that the peony and other sacred plants with solar virtues may have been tended within its enclosures ?

Our knowledge of this garden comes from a fragment of Sophocles (probably from the tragedy of Oreithyia), in which the poet speaks of the capture of the maiden Oreithyia by the god of the North Wind, who carries her away to the farthest bourne of earth and heaven, *to the ancient garden of Apollo*. Strabo, who is discussing the geographical distribution of the Goths and Germans, turns aside to speak contemptuously of those who mythologize about the Land at the Back of the North Wind, and the deeds that are done there, such as the capture of Oreithyia by Boreas. The lines of Sophocles which he quotes are, however, of the first value to us. They show that Apollo was a Hyperborean god ; and that his sanctuary was in a garden. This was the kind of god that came in with one of the great migrations from the North. He brought his vegetable counterparts with him ; certainly the sacred apple came South, as we have shown from the worship of Delphi, and perhaps some other sacred plants. In this far Northern land, in some Island of the Blest, the deity was under the priestly care of the Boread family ;¹ perhaps in the first instance the cult was presided over by priestesses, Snow-

¹ Diodore, 2, 47, μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ νήσῳ] τὴν Δητῶ γεγονέναι διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶται κτέ.

maidens, of whom the White maidens of Delos may be taken as the representatives. Their male counterparts are the Sons of Boreas. If we have rightly divined the meaning of the White maidens of the North, Hyperoche and Laodike, who were the primitive Delian saints, we must allow that the heroes Hyperochos and Laodikos, whose shrines are in the sacred enclosure at Delphi, are a pair of Boreads, who, further North and in earlier days, would have been the priests of the sanctuary. The actual passage of Strabo, with the fragment of Sophocles, to which we have been referring is as follows :

Strabo, vii. p. 295. Nauck, *Fragg. Trag. Gr.* ed. 2, p. 333: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγωδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας, λέγων ὡς ἀναρπαγείσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθεῖη

ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός
 νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς,
 Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὸ νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἑατέον.

For κῆπον in the third line some editors propose to emend σηκόν, because, as Miss Harrison says, they did not understand it ! Certainly the garden must stand, and it is the sacred garden of old-time, in the land of the Hyperboreans, to which ancient garden a modern garden at Delphi must have corresponded.¹

We may confirm our previous observation that the "garden of Apollo" was a real garden and probably a medical garden in the following way :—

We learn from Aristides Rhetor that the goddess Hygieia, who is commonly looked upon as a feminine counterpart of Asklepios, but who is in reality an independent young lady who lives next door to him and manages her own affairs, had such a medical garden as we have been speaking of. *To these gardens the sons of Asklepios were taken to be reared after their birth.* Nothing could be clearer, they were medical gardens. The first doctors must have been herbalists. This striking instance confirms us in our previous statements about the garden of Apollo.² We see also the importance

¹ Observe also the language of Pindar, with regard to the visit of Apollo to the Hyperboreans; *Ol.*, iii. 32, τόθι δένδρεα θάμβαινε σταθεῖς. One of the newly discovered Paeans at Delphi (vi. 14), is called Ἀλσος Ἀπόλλωνος.

² For the reference, see Aristides, vii. 1, ed. Dindorf, p. 73 : γενομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς τρέφει ὁ πατήρ ἐν Τυγείας κήποις.

of folk-medicine in theology. The history of one overlaps the history of the other.

There are also traces of sacred gardens belonging to Artemis, and to Hecate (who is in some points of view almost the feminine counterpart of Apollo and a double of Artemis). For the former we may refer to the garlands which Hippolytus gathers for the goddess from a garden into which none but the initiate may enter (Eur. *Hipp.* 73 *sqq.*): for the latter (a real witch's garden full of magic plants), we have the description and botanical summary in the Orphic *Argonautika*, 918 *sqq.*

In the Corbridge dish, to which we were alluding just now, the foreground is occupied by "a meadow in which plants grow". According to Percy Gardner, this meadow with its associated plants and animals is conventional. The objection to this is that the fount of Castaly is not conventional ornament; the animals represented are not conventional; the stag and the dog belong to the huntress Artemis, the griffin belongs to Apollo. If, then, the animals are cult figures, what of the plants? One of them appears to be a figure of a pair of mistletoe leaves, with the berries at the junction of the leaves;¹ the other is, perhaps, the peony. I should, therefore, suggest that the meadow in question is the medical garden of Apollo.

In conclusion of this brief study, it may be pointed out that we have emphasised strongly the Hyperborean origin of Apollo and his cult. There have been, from time to time, attempts to find the home of the god in more Southern regions, and with the aid of Semitic philology. The most seductive of such theories was one for which, I believe, Professor Hommel was responsible, that Apollo was a Greek equivalent of Jabal or Jubal in the Book of Genesis: and the linguistic parallel between the names was certainly reinforced by the existence of Jubal's lyre, and by the occurrence of a sister in the tradition of the triad in Genesis. That such transfers are possible appears to be made out from the case of Palaimon, who is thought by some to be a Corinthian modification of Baal-yam, the Lord of the Sea. We are, however, satisfied as to the Northern origin of Apollo, just as we are satisfied, until very convincing considerations to the

¹ We should have expected a slip of bay-tree, but the bay-tree leaves do not come off from the stalk in pairs, as the mistletoe leaves do.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APOLLO

contrary are produced, of the Thracian origin of Dionysos. The argument of the previous pages proceeds from the known overlapping and similarity of the cults of the two deities in question. Neither can be detached from the Sky-father, nor from the oak and its surrogates. Each appears to be connected with the production of fire by means of fire-sticks; in some respects this is the greatest of all human discoveries, and its history deserves a newer and more complete treatment. The connection of Apollo and Dionysos with the parasitic growths of the Sky-tree appears to be made out: and the parallelism between an Ivy-Dionysos and a Mistletoe-Apollo has been exhibited, with support from inscriptions. A new field has been opened out in the connection between early medicine and early religion, and it has been suggested that Apollo's reputation as a Healer, and Averter, may have a simple vegetable origin. A similar medical divinisation occurs in the case of the goddess Panakeia, the daughter of Asklepios; her name is a simple translation of a vegetable "all-heal".

Nothing further has been brought out as to the meaning of the associated Cult of Apollo's twin sister Artemis, beyond the suggestions which have already been made on the side of Twin Cult in my book *Boanerges*. There is evidently much more research needed into the origin and functions of the Great Huntress. Our next essay will, therefore, deal with the origin of the Cult of Artemis; we shall approach it from the side of the related Cult of Apollo, and bring forward, incidentally, some further and perhaps final proofs of the correctness of our identification of Apollo with the Apple-tree.

NOTE.—That the inhabitants of Abella (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740) were Celts and not Teutons, may be seen from the discussion of "cateia" in Bertrand and Reinace (*Les Celtes*, p. 198).

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF ARTEMIS.¹

THE attempt which we have made to disentangle the strands which make up the complexity of the Cult of Apollo, and to determine the starting-point for the evolution of that cult, leads on naturally and necessarily to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cult of the twin-sister of Apollo, the Maiden-Huntress of Greek woods and mountains. It might have been imagined that the resolution of one cult into its elements would lead quite inevitably to the interpretation of the companion cult, but this is far from being the case. The twins in question are quite unlike the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, whose likeness is so pronounced and whose actions are generally so similar that Lucian in his "Dialogues of the Gods" sets Apollo inquiring of Hermes which of the two is Castor and which is Polydeuces, "for," says he, "I never can make out." And Hermes has to explain that it was Castor yesterday and Polydeuces to-day, and that one ought to recognise Polydeuces by the marks of his fight with the king of the Bebryces.

Artemis, on the other hand, rarely behaves in a twin-like manner to Apollo: he does not go hunting with her, and she does not, apparently, practise divination with him; indeed, as we begin to make inquiry as to Apollo and Artemis in the Pre-Homeric days, we find that allusions to the twin-birth disappear, and a suspicion arises that the twin relation is a mythological afterthought, rendered necessary by the fact that the brother and sister had succeeded, for some reason or other, to a joint inheritance of a sanctuary belonging to some other pair of twin-heroes, heroines, or demi-deities; and if this should turn out to be the case, we must not take the twin-relationship and parentage from Zeus and Leto as the starting-point in the inquiry: it may be that other circumstances have produced the supposed family relation, and that Leto, who is in philological

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14 March, 1916.



Artemisia arborescens

From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca"

- a. INVOLUCRUM. B. UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI, MAGNITUDE AUCTUM.
 C. FLOSCULUS, VALDÈ AUCTUS. b. UNUM E FOLIOLIS INVOLUCRI.
 c. FLOSCULUS.

value only a duplicate of Leda, may turn out to be a very palpable fiction. In that case we shall have to explore the underlying parallelism in the cults of the two deities, outside of the twin relation and anterior to it. The relation of the cults to one another must be sought in another direction. Now let us refresh our memory as to the method which we pursued, and the results which we obtained in the case of the Cults of Dionysos and Apollo. It will be remembered that we started from the sanctity of the oak as the animistic repository of the thunder, and in that sense the dwelling-place of Zeus ; it was assumed that the oak was taboo and all that belonged to it ; that the woodpecker who nested in it or 'ammered at its bark was none other than Zeus himself, and it may turn out that Athena, who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows : even the bees who lived underneath its bark were almost divine animals, and had duties to perform to Zeus himself. The question having been raised as to the sanctity of the creepers upon the oak, it was easy to show that the ivy (with the smilax and the vine) was a sacred plant, and that it was the original cult-symbol of Dionysos, who thus appeared as a lesser Zeus projected from the ivy, just as Zeus himself, in one point of view, was a projection from the oak. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth could be established by the well-known Greek tradition concerning Semele and Zeus, was the ivy on the oak, and after that became an ivy fire-stick in the ritual for the making of fire. From Dionysos to Apollo was the next step : it was suggested, in the first instance, by the remarkable confraternity of the two gods in question. They were shown to exchange titles, to share sanctuaries, and to have remarkable cult-parallelisms, such as the chewing of the sacred laurel by the Pythian priestess, and the chewing of the sacred ivy by the Mænads : and since it was discovered that the Delphic laurel was a surrogate for a previously existing oak, it was natural to inquire whether in any way Apollo, as well as Dionysos, was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak. The inquiry was very fruitful in results : the undoubted solar elements in the Apolline cult were shown to be capable of explanation by an identification of Apollo with the mistletoe, and it was found that Apollo was actually worshipped at one centre in Rhodes as the Mistletoe Apollo, just as Dionysos was worshipped as the Ivy Dionysos at Acharnai. Further

inquiry led to the conclusion that the sanctity of the oak had been transferred by the mistletoe from the oak to the apple-tree, and that the cult betrayed a close connection between the god and the apple-tree, as, for instance, in the bestowal of sacred apples from the god's own garden upon the winners at the Pythian games. In this way it came to be seen that Apollo was really the mistletoe upon the apple-tree, for the greater part of the development of the cult, just as Dionysos was the Ivy, not detached as some had imagined, but actually upon the oak-tree. It was next discovered that the garden at Delphi was a reproduction of another Apolline garden in the far North, among the Hyperboreans, the garden to which Boreas had carried off Orithyia, and to which (or to another adjacent garden) at a later date the sons of Asklepios were transferred for the purpose of medical training. Some said it was a garden at the back of the North Wind, and some said it was in the far-away Islands of the Blessed ; it was, however, clear that the garden in question was not an orchard, but that it had plants as well as trees, and that the plants were medicinal, and so the garden had no relation to the flower gardens of later times. If a flower grew there, say the peony, it grew there as a part of the primitive herbal. Apollo came from the North as a medicine man, a herbalist, and brought his simples with him. His character of a god of healing was due in the first instance to the fact that the mistletoe, which he represented, was the All-heal¹ of antiquity, as it was to the Druids whom Pliny describes, and as it is among the Ainu of Japan at the present day. His apothecary's shop contained mistletoe, peony, laurel, and perhaps a few more universal or almost universal remedies, and upon these he made his reputation. He must have been a Panakes in his first period of medical practice, but the title passed over to a young lady in the family, who was known as Panakeia, who has furnished the dictionary with the medical word Panacea. Apollo continued to be known as the Paian or Pæonian ; and connection was made in Homer's day with the Pæonians on the Danube, in the Serbian

¹ The belief in All-healing medicines appears to be innate and persistent in human nature. John Bunyan represents Mr. Skill in the "Pilgrim's Progress" as operating with "an universal Pill, good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to".

area, who appear to have been the progressive herbalists of the day, and to have kept the first medical school to which the Greeks resorted. Moreover, since primitive medicine was magic, as well as medicine, the garden of Apollo contained ἀλεξιφάρμακα, or herbs which protected from witchcraft and evil spirits, of which the mistletoe appears to have been the chief. An attempt was then made to show that the very name of Apollo was, in its early form, Apellon, a loan-word from the North, disguising in the thinnest way his connection with the apple-tree. The apple had come into Greece from the North, perhaps from Teutonic peoples, just as it appears to have come into Western Italy from either Teutons or Celts, giving its name in the one case to the great god of healing, and in the other to the city of Abella, in Campania, through the Celtic word *Aball*.

The importance of the foregoing investigations will be evident : and they furnish for us the starting-point of our investigations of Artemis. We cannot get further back in the Cult of Apollo than the medical garden, behind which lies the apple-tree, the mistletoe, the oak-tree, and the sky-god. It seems probable that it is on the medical side that we shall find the reason for the brotherly-sisterly relation of Apollo and Artemis, for, as we shall show, she has a medical training and a garden of her own, which analogy suggests to have been a medical garden.

Before proceeding to the inquiry as to the character of the relationship between Apollo and Artemis, and the consequent interpretation of the latter in terms borrowed from the former, we will indulge in some further speculation on the Apollo and the apple that came into Greece from the back of the North Wind.

We have already expressed the belief that the apple reached the West of Italy from a Celtic or Teutonic source, and that the ancient city of Abella was an apple-town, named after the fruit, and not the converse. There is nothing out of the way in naming a town or a settlement from the apple-tree. There are a number of apple-towns, for instance, in England, such as Appleby, Appledore, Appledram, Appledurcombe : and although in some cases there has been a linguistic perversion from some earlier name, in which case the apple disappears from the etymology, there are enough cases left by which to establish our statement : the name Appledore, for example, can only mean apple-tree. Look at the following place-names from

Middendorff's "Alt-Englisches Flurnamenbuch" and see how places are identified by sweet apple-trees and sour apple-trees :—

apuldre, *apelder*, etc., sw. f. Apfelbaum; of dā sūran apael-dran 158; on sūran apuldran 610; swēte apuldre 1030; wōhgar apeldran 356; hāran apeldran 356; mæar apelder 356; pytt apulder 610; apeltrêo 219; appeldore 279A; *apeldorestoc* 458; appeltorn 922 (daselbst als lignum pomiferum bezeichnet) O.N. (i.e. place-name). Appeldram, Sussex, gleich apuldre ham; Appuldur Combe auf Wight.

The foregoing references to the Anglo-Saxon Cartulary will show how impossible it is to rule the apple and the apple-tree out of the national landmarks: the form, for instance, which we have underlined, is conclusive for the "stump of an apple-tree" as a place-mark, and for *appledore* as being really an apple-tree, and the equivalent of a number of related forms: when, moreover, we look into the Middle High Dutch, we find to our surprise that, instead of a form related to the German *Apfelbaum*, there occur the following terms, *apfalter*, *affalter*, *affolter*, which show the tree-ending nearly in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian form.

The first result of these observations is the confirmation of the use of the apple-tree as a place-mark; and what is proved for England is possible for Italy. There is really nothing to prevent the derivation of Abella from *Abāl*, and it is quite unnecessary to derive "apple" from Abella and so leave Abella itself unexplained. That is to say, the apple is a northern fruit and has come from the North to the Mediterranean on two routes: we may call them for convenience the *b* route and the *p* route, according as the import comes from the Celtic or Teutonic side: more correctly the import is due to tribes in two different states of the sound-shifting which goes on in the northern languages.

The fact is, that as soon as we have recognised in our own country the existence of towns and villages named after the apple and the apple-tree, we are bound to examine for similar phenomena elsewhere. We cannot, for instance, ignore the meaning of Avallon in the Department of the Yonne, when we have found the Celtic form for apple, and interpreted the happy valley of Avilion: and if Avallon is an apple-town, it did not derive its name from Abella in Campania.

There is, moreover, another direction of observation which leads to a complete demonstration of the dependence of Abella on the apple. No one seems to have noticed that in the South-west of France, in the region that borders on the Pyrenees, there was an ancient cult of an apple-god, exactly similar, judging from the name of the deity, to the Cult of Apollo. Holder in his "*Altkeltischer Wortschatz*" describes him as a Pyrenæan local god in the upper valley of the Garonne. For instance, we have at Aulon in the *Vallée de la Noue* an inscription

DEO ABELLIONI

Here Aulon is evidently a worn-down form of Avalon, so that we actually discover the apple-god in the apple-town.¹ In the same way we register the inscriptions

<i>Aulon</i>	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
<i>S. Béat. (Basses Pyrénées)</i>	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
" "	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
<i>Vallée de Larboust</i>	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
" "	.	.	.	Abellionni.
<i>St. Bertrand de Comminges</i>	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
" "	.	.	.	Abelion(i) deo.
<i>Fabas, Haute Garonne</i> ²	.	.	.	Abellionni.

This list can be expanded and corrected from Julian Sacaze's *Inscriptions Antiques des Pyrénées*, but for the present the references given above may suffice.

Here, then, are nine cases of a god, named *abelion* and *abellion*. The parallel with the early Greek spellings of Apollo, *Apellon*, *Apeljon* is obvious, and we need have no hesitation in saying that we have found the Celtic Apollo in the Pyrenees. (The identification with Apollo, but not with the apple, had already been made by Gruter, following Scaliger, *Lectiones Ausonianæ*, lib. i. c. 9.) The curious thing is that Holder, while discussing the origin of the name Abella, and landing in a final suspense of judgment as to the question which came first, the apple or the Abella, had on the very same page registered the existence of the Western apple-god. (Holder is, no

¹ "Revue Archéologique," 16, 488.

² "Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr." 1882, 250.

doubt, descended from the blind god Holdur of the Norsemen ! There is evidently not the slightest reason for supposing that Abella can be the starting-point for all these names of towns and deities : Abella is an apple-town for certain, and a Celtic apple-town. We may evidently carry our inquiries after apple-centres a little further : if the apple came from the North into the region of the Pyrenees, and into Campania, it will be strange indeed if it does not find its way across the mountains into Spain. We shall actually find a province and a city named *Avila* (it is Teresa's birthplace) and no doubt was a centre of early-apple-culture.¹

¹ In the supplement to Holder there is a good deal more about the apple and the apple-town.

Āball-ō(n) is definitely equated with apple-town.

Other towns are recognised ; L'avalais in the diocese of Autun ; Avallon in the Charente Inférieure, and again in the Dept. Isère.

Then we are told that the modern Avalleur in the Dept. of the Aube is = Avalorra, Avalurre, Avaluria of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and goes back to a primitive Aballo-duro-s or apple-fort : and that the modern place-names Valuéjols in Cantal, Valeuil in Dordogne, and again in the Dept. of the Eure, go back to a primitive Āballōiālō-n, which Holder says means apple-garden.

Holder also traces Vaillac, in the Dept. Lot, and Vaillat in the Charente, to an original Avalli-ācus and so to Avallos ; and also the place-names Havelu (Eure-et-Loire), Haveluy (Nord) and Aveluy (Somme) to an original Avallōvicus.

Who can believe that Abella in Campania is responsible for all this wealth of nomenclature ?

It is interesting to notice that not very far from Abella there is another apple-town, this time due to a Greek Colony. It has been pointed out that the name of Beneventum is a change from the evil-omened Maleventum, and that this latter is formed from the Greek *Μάλοφέντα*. "The Romans generally formed the name of a Greek town from the Greek accusative" (Giles, "Short Manual of Comp. Philol.," § 273, n. 2).



This leads us at once to the inquiry whether Apollo Maloeis is the local deity of Beneventum : the quickest way to decide this is to examine the coins of the city. Coins of Beneventum are rare ; a reference to the British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins in Italy" (p. 68, fig. ; see also Rasche, "Lex. univ. rei. numm." Suppl. i. 1355) will show us the *head of Apollo*

Another very interesting direction of inquiry is Northern Syria. The student of the New Testament knows the district of Abilene, over which Lysanias is said to have been the tetrarch. One rides through this district on the way from Baalbek to Damascus. Its capital city was Abila, over whose exact identification there is, I believe, still some dispute. There is no dispute, however, about its power of producing apples, as I know by experience: the village of Zebedany, for instance, is famed all over the Lebanon for its excellent apples, one of which was presented to my companion when we sojourned there for a night, by an old lady who took it as a token of extremest friendship, from her own bosom. The climate of the Lebanon appears to suit the apple, which was in all probability imported from the Levant. There is another Abila town on the east side of the Lake of Galilee. Whether that also is an apple-town I am not prepared to say.

Now for some remarks with regard to the first form of the word: we accentuate *apple* on the first syllable, but it is clear that the Celts accentuated it on the last (*abhál*, for instance, in Irish) and this appears from another consideration to be primitive; the double *n* at the end of the word and in the name of the god requires a forward accent. It is curious that, as with ourselves, the accent in Lithuanian has shifted back to the first syllable.

This shift of the accent is not, however, universal. When we search more closely for apple-towns on English soil, we find traces of the forward accentuation. For if we follow the analogy of places named after the oak, Oakham, Acton, and the like, we find not only such place and personal names as *Appleton* (of which there are nine or ten in "Bartholomew's Gazetteer") but also the forms both in names of persons and names of places, *Pélham*, *Pélton*, which are most naturally explained as derived from *Appélham*, *Appélton*. (Three Pelhams in Herts, a Pelton in Durham, not far from Chester-le-street.) To these we may add what appears to be an English formation from Pembrokeshire; for *Pelcomb* appears to be parallel in structure and meaning to *Appeldurcombe* in the Isle of Wight.¹

in the coins of Beneventum. It is not a little curious that we have found the Greek apple-town and the Celtic apple-town in Central Italy, within a day's march of one another!

¹ The alternative derivation will be a personal name of the type of John Peel. See Skeat, "Place-names of Hertfordshire."

The whole question of apple names needs a close and careful investigation.

There is another question connected with this one of the apple origin that needs inquiring into. Every one knows the Norse story of Balder the Beautiful, and of his death at the hand of the blind god Holdur, who, at Loki's malicious suggestion, shot him with an arrow of mistletoe. No one has been able to explain the myth of the death of Balder, but there have been various parallels drawn between the beautiful demi-god of the North and the equally beautiful Apollo among the Olympians: etymology has also been called in to explain Balder in terms of brightness and whiteness, and so to make him more or less a solar personage: but nothing very satisfactory has yet been arrived at. The Balder myth stands among the unsolved riddles of antiquity, complicated by various contradictory story-tellings, and apparently resisting a final explanation. Grimm was of the opinion that there was a Germanic Balder named Paltar, who corresponded to the Norse Balder, thus throwing the myth back into very early times indeed; and he brought forward a number of considerations in support of his theory, of greater or less validity.

It has occurred to me that, perhaps, the *Apel-dur*, *Apel-dre*, and *Appeldore*, which we have been considering, may be the origin of Balder, and of the Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis, in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (*abál*) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive *apál-dur* to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form Balder, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more. That the personified apple-tree should be killed by an arrow of mistletoe is quite in the manner of ancient myth-making;¹ and the parallels which have sometimes been

¹ Or we may adopt a simpler explanation, viz. that the ancients had observed that the mistletoe does kill the tree on which it grows, a bit of popular mythology which has reërudesced in Mr. Kipling's *Pict Song*:—

Mistletoe killing an oak—

Rats gnawing cables in two—

The damage done by mistletoe to conifers in the N.W. of America is the subject of a paper by James R. Weir, Forest Pathologist to the United States.

suggested between Balder and Apollo would be not parallels but identities. Apollo would be Balder and Balder Apollo.

Leaving these speculations for the present on one side, we now come to the question of the relation between Artemis and Apollo, that which the later myth-makers expressed in the language of twin-cult. Was there any common ground of cult similar to that which we detected in the case of Dionysos and Apollo, where the coincidence in titles, in functions, in cult-usages and in sanctuaries, led us to the interpretation of the second god, like the first, in terms of a vegetable origin? It will be admitted that there is some similarity in titles, that Apollo is Phœbus and Artemis Phœbe, and that he is Hekatos, or implied as such in the titles given to him, and that Artemis is, if not exactly Hekaté, at all events very closely related to her. This does not, however, help us very much; it suggests sun and moon-cult for Artemis and Apollo, and it is admitted that the mistletoe introduced a solar element into the conception of Apollo: but the actual development of the solar and lunar elements, which made Apollo almost the counterpart of Helios, and Artemis of Selene, must be much later in date than the origins of which we are in search. We must, therefore, go in other directions if we are to find a cult-parallelism between the two deities. And the direction which promises real results is the following: it is quite clear that both Apollo and Artemis are witches, witch-doctors of the primitive type, who stand near the very starting-point of what becomes ultimately the medical profession. He is a personified *All-heal*, and to his primitive apparatus of mistletoe berries, bark and leaves, he has added a small number of simples, more or less all-heals, or patent medicines, which taken together constitute the garden of Apollo, the original apothecary's shop. It is quite possible that the very first medicine of the human race was the mistletoe, and it is surprising to note how tenaciously the human race has clung to its first all-heal. In this country, for example, we are told by Lysons that there was a great wood in the neighbourhood of Croyland (Norwood) which belonged to the archbishop, and was said to consist wholly of oak. Among the trees was one which bore mistletoe, which some persons were so hardy as to cut down, for the gain of selling it to the *Apothecaries*, in London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out; but they proved unfortunate after it, for one of

them fell lame, and others lost an eye.¹ It will be seen that the medical and magical value of mistletoe (and especially of oak-mistletoe, as the old herbals are careful to point out) has continued almost to our own time. If Apollo is a herbalist, as all the primitive leeches were, and had a medical garden, it seems quite clear that Artemis was also in the herbal profession, and that she also had a garden of her own, in which certain plants grew, whose power of healing and persistence in human use have continued down to our own times. This we must now proceed to prove, for if we establish this parallelism, we shall know why Apollo and Artemis are brother and sister, and we shall presently be able to track the latter as we did the former, to her vegetable origin.

The first thing to be done is to prove that they both belong to the medical profession: the next to examine the pharmacopoeia of each one of them. In fact we have done this pretty thoroughly for Apollo: where is the proof that Artemis graduated in medicine, and what were the means of healing that she employed?

The first direction of inquiry suggested by the Apollo Cult for the Artemis Cult is to ask whether there is any magic herb (magical being understood as a term parallel with medical, and almost coincident with it in meaning) which will rank, either for medicine or for magic, along with the well-known *All-heal* of Apollo, the mistletoe. Suppose we turn to a modern book on "Flowers and Flower-Lore"² we shall find the author discoursing of the virtues of St. John's wort as "a safeguard against witchcraft, tempest, and other demoniacal evils". In fact, the plant is an *All-heal*: in Devonshire, the wild variety of the plant is known as tutsan, or titsan, which is the French *tout-sain*. We used to gather the leaves when we were children and place them in our Bibles. Its medical value can be seen in its occurrence in old-time recipes. For instance, here is one thus:—

"Take . . . french mallows, the tops of tutsans, plantin leaves, etc."³ Or look in Parkinson's "Herbal," and you will find a section devoted to *Tutsan*, and another to St. John's wort, which is

¹ Quoted in Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," I. 305.

² Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," I. 74, 75.

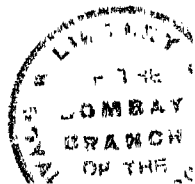
³ Lewer, "A Book of Simples," p. 186.

identified with the *Hypericon* of Dioscorides, and accredited with all kinds of virtues. So we are in the old Greek medical garden with St. John's wort.

The writer referred to above goes on to speak of the magical value of the mistletoe which "might well share with St. John's wort the name of Devilfuge". "*Another plant possessed, according to popular belief, of the power of dispelling demons is the well-known mugwort or wormwood, which on account of its association with the ceremonials of St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) was also known on the Continent as St. John's Herb . . . or St. John's Girdle. Garlands were made at that season of the year composed of white lilies, birch, fennel, St. John's wort, and Artemisia or wormwood, different kinds of leaves, and the claws of birds. These garlands, thus comprising seven different kinds of material, were supposed to be possessed of immense power over evil spirits.*"

The writer, unfortunately, does not give the detailed authority for his statements; but as regards the magic powers of the mugwort or Artemisia, we shall be able abundantly to verify the statements. Every herbal will say something about it: and we have, therefore, reached the point of discovering that there was a plant of immense magical and medical value, named after Artemis herself, and which must, therefore, be accredited to her garden, in the same way as we credited the mistletoe and the peony to the garden of Apollo. We note in passing that the plant *Hypericon* (St. John's wort) has also to be reckoned with as a part of the ancient pharmacopœia, and that a place ought to be found for it somewhere. As to the magic garlands that are spoken of, it is quite likely that they also will turn out to be ancient; in which case observe that even when composed of flowers, they are not flower-garlands in our sense of the term, but prophylactics. The distinction may be of importance—for instance, in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, we find the hero of the play making a garland for his goddess. Here is the language in which he dedicates it, in Mr. A. S. Way's translation:—

For thee this woven garland from a mead
Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.
There never shepherd dares to feed his flocks,
Nor steel of sickle came: only the bee
Roveth the springtide mead undesecrate:



And Reverence watereth it with river-dews.
 They which have heritage of self-control
 In all things, purity inborn, untaught,
 These there may gather flowers, but none impure.

Evidently the mead of which Hippolytus speaks was "a sealed garden" belonging to initiates : the shepherd would not dare to come in : no iron is allowed within its limits : ¹ iron and magic are enemies ; may we not assume that the garden in question is the garden of Artemis herself ? One wishes much that Euripides had told us what were the plants and flowers that went to make up the garland, and whether one of them was the Artemisia.

If we have not a detailed description in this case, we are better placed in the companion garden of Hekaté, if that be really different from the garden of Artemis, at this period of religious evolution ; for we have already pointed out the close connection of Apóllo, Artemis, and Hekaté. As regards the medical garden of Hekaté, we are, as I have said, better placed for an exact determination. The Orphic "Argonautica" describe the visit of Medea to the garden in question, and tell us what sort of a place it was : here are some of the lines :—

ἐν δέ σφ' ἄν πυμάτῳ μυχῶ ἔρκεος ἄλσος ἀμείβει,
 δένδρεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι κατάσκιον, ᾧ ἐνὶ πολλαί
 δάφναι τ' ἥδ' ἐκ κρανεῖαι ἰδ' εὐμήκεις πλατάνιστοι.
 ἐν δέ πόαι ῥίζησι κατηρεφέες χθαμαλῆσιν,
 ἀσφόδελος, κλύμενός τε, καὶ εὐώδης ἀδιάντος,
 καὶ θρόνον ἥδ' κύπειρον, ἀριστερεῶν τε ἀνεμώνη,
 ὄρμινόν τε, καὶ εἰρύσιμον, κυκλαμῖς τ' ἰοειδῆς,
 μανδραγόρης, πόλιόν τ', ἐπὶ δὲ ψαφαρὸν δίκταμνον,
 εὐοδμός τε κρόκος, καὶ κάρδαμον· ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆμος,
 σμίλαξ, ἥδ' ἐκ χαμαίμηλον, μήκων τε μέλαινα,
 ἀλκείη, πάνακες, καὶ κάρπασον, ἥδ' ἀκόνιτον,
 ἄλλα τε δηλήεντα κατὰ χθόνα πολλὰ πεφύκει.²

Here then, the writer of the poem has pictured for us the witch's garden as it should be : there are trees, such as the laurel, the cornel, and the plane : there is asphodel, convolvulus (?), the maiden-hair, the rush, the cyperus, the vervain (?), the anemone, the horminus, the erysimon, the cyclamen, the stoechas, the peony, the polyknemos, the

¹ Cf. the practice of the Druids in cutting the mistletoe or in gathering (sine ferro) the plant *selago*, as described by Pliny, "H.N.," XXIV. 62.

² Orph., "Argonaut.," 915 ff.

mandrake, the polion, the dictamnys, the crocus, the cardamon, the kēmos, the smilax, the camomile, the black poppy, the alcaea, the mistletoe (?), the flax, the aconite, *and other baneful plants*.

No doubt this as a Greek medical garden of a late period, but it shows what a garden of Hekaté was imagined to be by the author ; and it is instructive. It is composed of *roots* and *banes*, and of flowers whose medical value we can verify from other quarters. The mistletoe must surely be the *All-heal* covered by *πάντακες* ;¹ it and the peony and the laurel come from Apollo's garden ; the smilax is borrowed from Dionysos, the vervain and mandrake are well-known in witchcraft : the dictamnys is related in some way to Artemis, for one of Artemis' names is taken from Dictynna (Dictamnus) in Crete, and the medicine is used for Artemis' own department, the delivery of women in child-birth, of which more presently.

We can thus form an idea of the herb-garden of antiquity : it was really more a root-garden than an herb-garden. When Sophocles describes the operation of Medea and her companions, apparently in these very gardens of Hekaté, he gives to the play the title of *οἱ ῥιζοτόμοι*, the *Root-cutters*. The root is either for medicine or for magic, and as we have said there was no sharp line drawn between the two. Supposing, then, that on the analogy of the gardens of Apollo and Hekaté, and in harmony with the language of Hippolytus to his goddess, we say that Artemis had a garden, we may be sure that the mugwort² was there. We must certainly look more carefully into the virtues of a plant so closely linked by name with the goddess.

Before doing so, we may mention in passing that both Hekaté and Artemis, who is so nearly related to her, used to grow in their gardens a famous magical plant which had the witch's power of opening locks. This flower is called the *spring-wurzel* (or *spring-wort*), in the literature of Teutonic peoples, and everywhere there are strange and wonderful stories about it. It appears to have been under the protection of the Thunder, in the person of the woodpecker. The plant was wanted by Medea in order to make the way

¹ This is not quite certain ; there are a number of all-heals beside the mistletoe.

² The English name *mugwort* is merely *fly-plant* ; cf. Engl. *midge*, Germ. *Mücke*.

for Jason to find the golden fleece, in one of the poems of the Argonaut legend. The person who had it could say

Open locks

Whoever knocks.

Now it seems certain that Artemis as well as Hekaté had this magic plant: for among her many titles corresponding to many functions and powers, she is called *κλειδοῦχος*, she that has the key. Thus in the opening Orphic Hymn to Hekaté, she is described as

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν

and in the very next hymn, Prothyraea, the goddess of the portal, is addressed as *κλειδοῦχος* and as

Ἄρτεμις εἰλείθνια καὶ εὐσέμνη Προθυραία,

along with many epithets addressed to Artemis as the woman's helper in travail. We point out, therefore, in passing that the spring-wort, which gave the possessor the entrée everywhere, was also a plant in the garden of Artemis.

We are now able to see, from the combination of magic with medicine, and the difficulty of imagining them apart in early times, the reason for that curious feature in the character of Artemis and her brother, which makes them responsible for sending the very diseases which they are able to cure. It is magic that causes diseases, magic as medicine that heals them. If the god or goddess is angry, we may expect the former, if they are propitiated, we look for the latter. The myths will tell us tales of Apollo and Artemis under either head. If women in actual life have troubles, Macrobius¹ will tell us that they are Artemis-struck, *ἀρτεμιδοβλήτους*, which is not very different from witch-overlooked, as it occurs in the West of England: yet this very same Artemis will be appealed to when the time of feminine trouble is at hand!²

Our next step is to go to the herbals and find out what they say of the properties of the medical plants that we may be discussing, and

¹ "Sat.," l. 17, 11.

² That is always the way with witches; cf. Hueffer, "The Book of Witches," p. 280: "In the capacity of the witch as healer and conversely as disease-inflicter, her various spells must cover all the ills that flesh is heir to. She must be able to cure the disease she inflicts."

determine how far they reproduce the beliefs of primitive times. The task is not without interest ; one of the first things that come to light is the astonishing conservatism of the herbalists, who repeat statements one from another without correction or sensible modification, statements which can be traced back to Pliny or Dioscorides and even earlier, and which, when we have them in the form in which they are presented by Pliny or Dioscorides, are easily seen to be a traditional inheritance from still earlier times. Pliny, in fact, used the herbals of his day, much as Culpeper and Gerarde used Dodonaeus. Even when the herbalists are professing to be progressive, and throwing about their charges of superstition against those who preceded them, there is not much perceptible progress about them. Gerarde is often found using the language of the rationalist, and is doing his best to let the light of accurate science fall on his page, but Gerarde himself relates to us how he himself saw, with "the sensible and true avouch of his own eyes," that brant-geese were produced from the shells of barnacles, and gives us a picture of the actual occurrence of this feat of evolution ; it was a story which, if I remember rightly, Huxley employed in his discussion of the evidence for miracles. Culpeper, too, denounces superstition roundly and cries to God against it ; but he denounces also the Royal College of Surgeons and colours all his medical theories with the doctrine of signatures and the influence of the planets. No medicine for him without astrology, which he treats with the same assurance as a modern doctor would have as to the influence of microbes. In reality, we ought to be thankful for the limitations which we at once detect in the herb-doctors ; their traditionalism is just what we want ; it is the folk-lore of medicine, and like folk-lore generally our surest guide to the beliefs and practices of primitive man.

Let us then see what the herb-doctor Culpeper has to say on the subject of the mugwort : he begins with a description of the plant and then intimates the places where it may be found, as that "it groweth plentifully in many places of this Land, by the water-sides, as also by small water-courses, and in divers other places". The time of its flowering and seeding is then given. Then follows the "government and vertues" of the plant. The government means the planet that rules the plant and the sign of the Zodiac that it is under. Then we have the following vertues : "Mugwort is with good success put among other

herbs that are boiled for women to sit over the hot decoction, to draw down their courses, to help the delivery of their birth, and expel the after-birth. As also for the destructions and inflammations of the mother [*sc. matrix*]. It breaketh the stone and causeth one to make water where it is stopped. The Juyce thereof made up with myrrh, and put under as a pessary, worketh the same effects and so doth the root also."

He continues with the effect of the herb to remove tumours and wens, and to counteract over-dosing with opium, but it is evident that, according to Culpeper, it is a woman's medicine meant for women's complaints, even if it should have occasionally a wider reference. We begin to see the woman-doctor Artemis operating with the women's medicine Artemisia. But where did Culpeper get all this from? And how far back does this chapter of medical science go?

Here is another great English herbal, the "Theatrum Botanicum" of Parkinson. He arranges the matter very much as in Culpeper, but with more detail and learning. First he describes the plant *Artemisia vulgaris*, or common mugwort. Then he says where it is to be found, much as in Culpeper. After this he has to discourse on the meaning of the name, which I transcribe:—

"It is called in Greek *Ἀρτεμισία*, and Artemisia in Latin also, and recorded by Pliny that it took the name of *Artemisia* from Artemisia the wife of *Mausolus*, King of Caria; when as formerly it was called *Parthenis*, quasi *Virginalis* Maidenwort, and as Apuleius saith, was also called *Parthenium*; but others think it took its name from *Ἀρτεμης*, who is called *Diana*, because it is chiefly applied to women's diseases. The first (kind of Artemisia) is generally called of all writers *Artemisia* and *vulgaris*, because it is the most common in all countries. Some call it *mater herbarum*. . . ." Here we have "some really ancient tradition taken from Pliny, from Dioscorides, and others. The plant is traced to Artemis; its virtue consists in its applicability to the diseases of women and, most important of all, it is the mother of all medical herbs.

Parkinson then goes on to the virtues of the plant, beginning with the statement that "Dioscorides saith it heateth and extenuateth," after which we have very nearly the same story of its medical uses as in Culpeper. He continues, "It is said of Pliny that if a traveller binde

some of the hearbe with him, he shall feelee no weariness at all in his journey ; as also that no evill medicine or evill beast shall hurt him that hath the hearbe about him". Here we are in the region of pure magic and begin to suspect the reason why Artemis is the patron of the travellers, and why she is said to tame wild beasts. Parkinson remarks upon these opinions as follows :—

"Many such idle superstitions and irreligious relations are set down, both by the ancient and later writers, concerning this and other plants, which to relate were both unseemly for me, and unprofitable for you. I will only declare unto you the idle conceit of some of our later days concerning this plant, and that is even of Bauhinus¹ who glorieth to be an eye-witness of his foppery, that upon St. John's eve there are coales [which turn to gold] to be found at mid-day, under the rootes of mugwort, which after or before that time are very small or none at all, and are used as an amulet to hang about the necke of those that have the falling-sickness, to cure them thereof. But oh ! the weak and fraile nature of man ! which I cannot but lament, that is more prone to beleeeve and relye upon such impostures, than upon the ordinance of God in His creatures, and trust in His providence."

We could have done profitably with less of Parkinson's pious rationalism and more of the superstitions that he deplotes and occasionally condescends to describe.

Now let us try the herbal of John Gerarde. This is earlier than Parkinson's "Theater" which dates from 1640. The first edition is published in 1597, the second, with enlargements and corrections by Johnson, is dated 1633. The copy in my possession is the latter, from which accordingly I quote.

First he describes the plant which he calls *Artemisia*, *mater Herbarum*, common mugwort, then says where it is to be found, and when ; then comes the dissertation on the name, nearly as above, which I transcribe :—

"Mugwort is called in Greek 'Αρτεμισία ; and also in Latine *Artemisia*, which name it had of *Artemisia*, Queene of Halicarnassus, and wife of noble *Mausolus*, King of Caria, who adopted it for her own herbe ; before that it was called *Parthenis* as *Pliny*

¹ Bauhinus, "De Plantis a divis sanctisve nomen habentibus," 1591, and "Prodromus Theatri Botanici," 1620.

writeth. *Apuleius* affirmeth that it was likewise called *Parthenion*; who hath very many names for it, and many of them are placed in *Dioscorides* among the bastard names; most of these agree with the right *Artemisia*, and divers of them with other herbes, which now and then are numbered among the mugworts: it is also called *Mater Herbarum*; in high Dutch, *Beifuss*, and *Sant Johannis Gurtell*; in Spanish and Italian, *Artemisia*; in Low Dutch, *Bijvoet*, *Sint Jans Kruyt*; in English Mugwort and common Mugwort." Then comes a note on the temperature of the plant:—

"Mugwort is hot and dry in the second degree, and somewhat astringent."

After this follow the virtues: beginning with "Pliny saith that Mugwort doth properly cure women's diseases" as we had noted above; details are given, nearly as in *Parkinson*, after which *Gerarde* concludes by saying that "Many other fantastical devices invented by poets are to be seene in the workes of the ancient writers, tending to witchcraft and sorcerie, and the great dishonour of God: wherefore I do of purpose omit them, as things unworthy of my recording or your reading," which is evidently what *Parkinson* has been drawing on. Bad luck to them both!

It must not be supposed that all these writers have verified for themselves what *Pliny* and *Dioscorides* or the rest say: they commonly transfer references from one to another. The value of the repeated statements lies in the evidence which the repetition furnishes of the constancy of the beliefs and practices involved.

Suppose we now try the herbals of a century earlier, those which belong to the period immediately following the invention of printing. I have examined several of these early book rarities in the *Rylands Library* in order to see whether they say the same as the great English herbals. Here, for instance, is the "*Hortus Sanitatis*,"¹ published in *Mainz* in 1491; the description of *Artemisia* and its virtues is as follows:—

Arthemisia. Ysido (i.e. *Isidore*) *Arthemisia* est herba dyane a gentibus consecrata unde et nuncupata. Diana siquidem grece artemis dicitur. Pli. li. xxv. (i.e. *Pliny*, bk. xxv.) *Arthemisiam* quae autem parthenis vocabatur ab arthemide cognominatam sicut

¹ This is merely a Latin translation of "Garden of Hygieia".

quidam putant. Etiam dicitur Arthemisia quoniam sic vocabatur uxor regis masolei qui voluit eam sic vocari quae antea, ut inquit plinius, parthenis vocabatur. et sunt qui ab arthemide arthemisiam cognominatam putant. quoniam privatim medicatur feminarum malis. Dyoscorides. Arthemisia tria sunt genera. Unum est quod vocatur Arthemisia monodos (l. monoclos), i.e. mater herbarum quae est fruticosa et similis absinthio : folia majora et pinguiora habens et hastas longas. nascitur in maritimis locis et lapidosis. florescit autem estatis tempore floribus albis. arthemisia tagetes (l. taygetes) nominatur. quae tenera est semen habens minutum et ynam hastam foliis plenam. Nascitur in locis mediterraneis et altioribus. florem mellinum atque tenuem et iocundiorem comparatione prioris ferens. Haec a grecis vocatur tagetes (i.e. taygetes) vel tanacetum. Et nos in lingua latina vocamus eam thanasiam. vel secundum quosdam athanasiam. Et est tertia arthemisia quae leptafillos dicitur. nascitur circa fossas et agros. flosculum eius si contriveris samsuci odorem habet. et ipsa amara. Has species arthemisie dyanem dicunt invenisse et virtutes eorum et medicamina chironi centauro tradidisse. Haec herba ex nomine dyane quae artemis dicitur accepit nomen arthemisia quae calefacit et siccatur. Ga. sim. fac. ca. d. arthemisia. (i.e. Galen in the chapter of *de simp. fac.* on artemisia). Arthemisia duplex quidem est herba. ambae tamen calefaciunt mediocriter et siccant. . . .

So much for the description of the plant as given in the "Hortus Sanitatis" : and we can already see that we are getting fresh information. The first kind of Artemisia is called *monoclos* which is apparently a corruption of a Greek word *μονόκλωνος*, meaning that the plant grows on a single stem ; the second is twice over described as *taygetes*, which can only refer to the mountain in Laconia (Mt. Taygetus) which is more than any other district sacred to Artemis. The writer does not, however, know any Greek : he says he is working from Dioscorides, but he appears to confuse the tansy (tanacetum) with the Artemisia, and says that its Latin name is Athanasia ! The reference to Mt. Taygetus is of the first importance, for if the plant is found there, then the presence of Artemis in the mountain is due to the plant, and Artemis is the plant. Last of all, the writer has a third variety which Diana is said to have discovered and confided to the centaur Chiron. We must evidently follow up these links of the plant with the goddess and see where they take us.

The writer then goes on to describe in detail the virtues of the plants, and it will be useful to follow him in detail.

Operationes.

A. Dyas (i.e. Dioscorides) *Arthemisia* virtutem habet acerrimam purgativam attenuantem calidam et leptinticam.

B. Elixatura eius causas mulieris mitigat. menstruis imperat. secundinas excludit. mortuos infantes in utero deponit. constrictiones matricis resolvit. omnes tumores spargit. accepta calculos frangit. urinam provocat. herba ipsa tunsa et in umbilico posito menstruis imperat.

C. Succus eius mirre (i.e. myrrhae) mixtus et matrici suppositus omnia similiter facere novit.

D. Coma eius sicca bibita. z.iii. stericas (i.e. hystericas) causas componit.

E. Si quis iter faciens eam secum portaverit non sentiet itineris laborem.

F. Fugat etiam demonia in domo posita. Prohibet etiam maledicamenta et avertit oculos malorum.

G. Item ipsa tunsa cum axungia et superposita pedum dolorem ex itinere tollit.

H. *Arthemisia* quae *taygetes* vocatur facit ad vesicae dolorem et stranguriam succo dato ex vino. z.ii.

I. Febricanti ex aqua ea ciatis (l. cyathus) duas potui datur.

K. Succus tunsa cum axungia et aceto coxarum dolori medicatur ligata usque in tertium diem.

L. Ut infantem hilarem facias incende et suffumigabis et omnes incursiones malorum avertet. et hilariorem faciet infantem. nervorum dolorem et tumorem trita cum oleo bene subacta mirifice sanat.

M. Dolorem pedum gravitur vexatis radicem eius da cum melle manducare et ita sanabitur ut vix credi posset eam tantam virtutem habere.

N. Succo eius cum oleo rosarum febriens perunctus curatur ea. Hanc herbam si confricaveris lasaris odorem habet.

O. Galienus. Ambae species *arthemisiae* conveniunt lapidibus in renibus existentibus et ad calefactiones et extractiones secundarum (l. secundinarum).

When we read through this list of virtues and operations, we see

the origin of many things in the later herbals. It is quite clear that to the author of the *Hortus Sanitatis* the herb in question was women's medicine. We might roughly group the operations as follows :—

Women's medicine.	B.C.D.O.
Child's medicine.	L.
Pains in the feet.	E.G.M.
Vesicary troubles.	H.O.
Fevers.	I.N.
Pains in the hips.	K.
Magical values.	E.F.

It is clear that the real value of the herb lies in its influence upon women and children and upon travellers, and in the power as an amulet. The reason for its connection with travellers does not yet appear : the other curative and prophylactic qualities are thoroughly Artemisian. Especially interesting is the appearance of Artemis as the one that takes care of the baby, the *κουροτρόφος*. We are evidently coming nearer to the source of the magic and of the medicine.

Now let us see what Dioscorides says about the plant, since it is clear that the herbals in part derive from him ; the Artemisia is described in Dioscorides, "De materia medica," lib. iii. cap. 117, 118.

117. Ἀρτεμισία ἡ μὲν πολὺκλωνος, ἡ δὲ μονόκλωνος . . . ἡ μὲν πολὺκλωνος φύεται ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐν παραθαλασσίῳ τόποις, πόα θαμνοειδὴς, παρόμοιος ἀψινθίῳ, μείζων δὲ καὶ λιπαρώτερα τὰ φύλλα ἔχουσα· καὶ ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εὐερνής, πλατύτερα ἔχουσα τὰ φύλλα καὶ τοὺς ῥάβδους· ἡ δὲ λεπτότερα, ἄνθη μίκρα, λεπτά, λευκά, βαρύοσμα· θέρους δὲ ἀνθεῖ.

*Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν μεσογείῳ λεπτόκαρπον, ἀπλοῦν τῷ καυλῷ, σφόδρα μικρόν, ἄνθος περίπλεων κηροειδοῦς τῇ χροίᾳ· λεπτοῦ καλοῦσιν ἀρτεμισίαν μονόκλωνον· ἔστι δὲ εὐδεστέρα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Ἀμφότεραι δὲ θερμαίνουσι καὶ λεπτύνουσιν· ἀποζεννύμεναι δὲ ἀρμόζουσιν εἰς γυναικεῖα ἐγκαθίσματα πρὸς ἀγωγὴν ἐμμήνων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ ἐμβρύων, μύσιν τε καὶ φλεγμονὴν τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ θρύψιν λίθων καὶ ἐποχὴν οὖρων. ἡ δὲ πόα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου καταπλασθεῖσα πολλή, ἐμμηνα κινεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς χύλος λεανθεὶς σὺν σμύρνῃ, καὶ προστεθείς, ἄγει ἀπὸ μήτρας, ὅσα καὶ

τὸ ἐγκάθισμα· καὶ ποτίζεται ἡ κόμη πρὸς ἀγωγὴν τῶν αὐτῶν.
πλήθος < γ.

118. Ἀρτεμίσια λεπτόφυλλος ἥτις γεννᾶται περὶ ὀχέτους καὶ
φραγμοὺς καὶ εἰς χώρας σπορίμους· τὸ ἄνθος οὖν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ
φύλλα τριβόμενα ὁσμὴν ἀποδίδωσι σαμψύχου. εἰ οὖν τις πονεῖ
τὸν στόμαχον, καὶ κόψει τὴν βοτάνην ταύτης μετὰ ἀμυγδαλίνου
ἐλαίου καλῶς, καὶ ποιήσει ὡς μάλαγμα καὶ θήσει ἐπὶ τὸν
στόμαχον, θεραπευθήσεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρά τις πονεῖ, τὸν
χύλον ταύτης μετὰ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου μίξας χρίει, θεραπευθήσεται.

A careful comparison of these passages of Dioscorides will show that almost every sentence has been transferred to the herbals. The prominence of the woman's medicine in Dioscorides is most decided. The magical qualities do not appear in this passage, nor is there any reference to Mt. Taygetus. The plant grows, according to Dioscorides, by runnels, and in hedges and ditches and fields. The same prominence of the woman-medicinal factor appears in the description given by Pliny in his "Natural History" (xxv. 36) as follows:—

"Mulieres quoque hanc gloriam affectavere; in quibus Artemisia uxor Mausoli, adopta herba, quae antea parthenis vocabatur. Sunt quae ab Artemide Ilithyia cognominatam putant, quoniam privatim medeatur feminarum malis, etc."

These sentences also can be traced in the herbals. It is quite likely that Pliny is right in giving the plant the alternative name of "maid's medicine," though we need not trouble further about Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus. She is an obvious after-thought.

That the mugwort has continued as a maid's medicine to our own time may be seen by a pretty story which Grimm quotes from R. Chambers,¹ but without seeing the bearing of the tale.

"A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave people good counsel, sang:—

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the mugwort growing in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maid had died of the same disease,

¹ Grimm, "Teut. Myth." Eng. tr. iii. 1211; R. Chambers, "Pop. Rhymes," p. 331; Swainson, "Weather Folk-Lore," p. 60.

bas. et nomine diano hoc est arce
mehe nuncupavit. ¶

Finglitz



Romani comicem vocant. w 132
phare. Emarginos. gyph. acce
mici. Romem. dicunt. Vasi
tur loci fabulosis. & aggerib. vel
aquosis. vel circa fossas.

DIANA PRESENTING THE MUGWORT TO CHIRON THE CENTAUR
(From a MS. of the Eleventh Century)

and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her voice above the water and in slow accents cried -

If they wad *nettles* drink in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay."

So it appears that the plant continued as a maid's medicine in Scotland till recent times.

We have now accumulated enough material, or nearly so, to enable us to decide on the relation between Artemis and Artemisia.

It is clear that it is one of the oldest of medicines: *it is the mother of herbs*; in that respect it ranks with the peony, of which Pliny says ("H.N." xxv. 11) that it is the oldest of medical plants.¹ It is also clear that it is first and foremost women's medicine, and this must be the principal factor in determining the relation between the woman's goddess and the woman's pharmacopœia.

Amongst the special places where the plant is found we have mention of Mt. Taygetus, after which one of the principal varieties of the plant appears to have been named. Now Mt. Taygetus is known from Homer to be the haunt of Artemis, e.g. "Od." vi. 102, 3:—

οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἰσιν κατ' οὐρεος ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον.

Or we may refer to Callimachus' hymn to Artemis, in which the poet asks the goddess her favourite island, harbour, or mountain; and makes her reply that she loves Taygetus best:—

τίς δέ νύ τοι νήσων, ποῖον δ' ὄρος εὐαδε πλεῖστον;
τίς δέ λιμὴν; ποίη δέ πόλις; τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἡρωίδας ἔσχεας ἐταίρας;
εἶπε, θεά, σὺ μὲν ἀμμῖν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν ἀείσω.
Νήσων μὲν Δολίχῃ, πολίων δέ τοι εὐαδε Πέργῃ·
Τηΰγετον δ' ὀρέων, λιμένες γε μὲν Εὐρίπῳ.

If, then, the plant is found on the mountain, then it is the plant that loves the mountain, and not Artemis in the first instance; or rather, *the plant is Artemis and Artemis is the plant*. Artemis is a woman's goddess and a maid's goddess, because she was a woman's medicine and a maid's medicine. If the medicine is good at

¹ Vetusissima inventu Paeonia est, nomenque auctoris retinet.

child-birth, then the witch-doctress who uses it becomes the priestess of a goddess, and the plant is projected into a deity, just as in the cases previously studied of Dionysos and Apollo.

If the plant is good for the rearing of beautiful and happy children, then the person who uses it is a *κουροτρόφος*, which is one of the titles of Artemis. So far, then, the problem is solved; we can restore the garden of Artemis, and give the chief place in it to the common mugwort who is the vegetable original of the goddess.

This does not explain everything, it raises some other questions: we have not shown why Artemis became a goddess of the chase; nor have we shown why the plant *Artemisia* is good for travellers and keeps them from having tired feet. Was this a real operation of the plant? It is not easy to say. It is clear that the belief that mugwort had such virtue has been very persistent; it is, to be sure, in Pliny, who tells us ("H.N." XXVI. 89):—

"*Artemisiam et elelisphacum alligatas qui habeat viator, negatur lassitudinem sentire.*"

From Pliny it may have passed into the herbals; it is this faculty of never tiring that seems to be involved in the Teutonic name *beifuss*, and Grimm says the name is early, and quotes from Megenborg (385, 16) the statement that "he that has *beifuss* on him *wearies not on his way*". This may be from Pliny, but where did Pliny get it, and where did the name *beifuss* come from?¹ The magical power of the herb is also a persistent folk-tradition and not merely a bit of medical lore. "Whoso hath *beifuss* in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root over the door, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny."²

There is more investigation to be made in the interpretation of the tradition: but at all events we have found our spring-wort and opened the locked mythological door.

We know now why Apollo and Artemis were brother and sister, and why they became twins. They are the father and the mother respectively of Greek medicine. Their little gardens of simples were next door to one another.

¹ In Baden, the bride puts *beifuss* in her shoe, and a blossom of the plant on the wedding-table. See Wuttke, "Deutsche Volksaberglaube," 133.

² Grimm, l.c.

Now let us indulge for a little the art of speculation, if we may do so without endangering results that have already been arrived at.

To begin with, does the discovery of the plant Artemis help us to the understanding of the meaning of the name of the goddess? We recall the fact that the road by which we reached our identification of the plant with the goddess had for its starting-point the personal relation between Apollo and Artemis. When Apollo was tracked to his appropriate vegetable, Artemis couldn't be very far off. Analogy may help us in the solution of the nomenclature; we are in the region of medicine; Apollo is the mistletoe, and its name is *All-heal*, it is the first and greatest of the line of patent medicines: may not the name of Artemis cover also some such meaning? The Homeric ἀρτεμής, *safe and sound*, would perhaps meet the requirements of nomenclature for a healing plant. A more doubtful solution has been proposed by some writers on mythology, to take a derivation from the intensive prefix ἀρι—attached to the name of Themis; thus Ἄρτεμις = ἀριθέμις = very right, almost as if we had discovered an *all-right* to go with the *all-heal*. The true solution does not seem to have been yet reached.

Now for another point. We have discovered a great god and a great goddess of medicine, witch-doctor, and witch-doctress with appropriate vegetable emblems and origins. We have tried to construct *ab initio* the gardens of herbs from which every existing pharmacy is evolved; and we have acted on the supposition that primitive medicine was herbalism and nothing more. The question arises whether we have not gone too far in excluding altogether the presence of animal and mineral medicines. When Shakespeare's witches make medicine for Macbeth, a main part of the ingredients of the charmed pot are animal:—

Toad that under a cold stone
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Swelter'd venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i' the charmed pot.

And so on. This must be sufficiently true to the witchcraft tradition to have verisimilitude. When did the toad and the tiger and the rest of the witches' larder become available for hag-work? To put it another way, if we take up the treatise of Dioscorides, "*De materia medica*," we find that in the second book he treats of animals, oils,

odours, unguents, and when we come near the end of the fifth book that we are introduced to a section *De metallicis omnibus* in which metals and their oxides are described and estimated medically, after the fashion of the four books of more or less botanical medicine which have preceded. Various products of rust, lime, and corals and sponges are introduced. Medicine was not merely herbal to Dioscorides, as we may see further on reference to the remedies proposed in his treatise *περὶ εὐπορίστων*.

It is, however, Pliny that tells us in the most convenient form what really went on. When he comes to his twenty-eighth book he tells us plainly that he has exhausted the herbals and that a larger medicine is to be found in animals and in man. The blood of gladiators, the brains of babies, and every part of the human body have their medical value, down to his spittle which is a protection against serpents, and the hair of his head which can be used to ward off gout. And of course, if human medicine has been carried to such a degree in the extension of the pharmacy, the animals are not excluded, nor their parts and products. An elephant's blood cures rheumatism ; I wish some one would lend me a small elephant ! The elephant having been admitted to the drug-store, we may be sure the ant has not been left out. Pliny is often ashamed of the remedies which he reports, and confesses that they are abhorrent to the mind and only justified by the results. From his manner of treating the subject it seems clear that magic and cruelty and indecency have had a witch's revel in the surgery and the dispensary, and that the introduction of the animal remedies was not something of recent invention when Pliny wrote. So it is quite open to us to make the inquiry as to the extent to which the herb-garden opened into the farm-yard or the zoological garden. Did they really stop a toothache by the use of stag's horn, or find a medicine in a bone which lies hid in the heart of a horse ? Does a wolf's liver really cure a cough ? Who first discovered this admirable use to which a wolf can be put ? and who found out that bears cure themselves by the eating of ants' eggs, and taught us to do the same ?

In order to show the persistence of peculiar animal remedies I am going to take the case of the mouse. I propose to show that the mouse is medicine down to our own times, then that it was widely used as a medicine in Pliny's day ; after which I shall conjecture that it was a very early and primitive medicine.

We will begin with a recipe in a MS. book in my own possession, the still-room book of Mistress Jane Hussey, of Doddington Hall : the MS. is dated in 1692. In this MS. we are advised that "Fry'd mice are very good to eat. And mice flead and dry'd to powder, and the powder mixt with sugar-candy is very good for the chinn cough. You must flea the mice when you fry them. These I know to be good." If I remember rightly one of the herbalists denounces this medicine as a superstition. Anyway, there it is, and it would be ancient enough if we replaced sugar-candy by honey, which is the pharmacist's sweetener of ancient times. We may compare with it the use of mice as medicine in the Lebanon at the present day to cure ear-ache. Now did they use mouse-medicine in early times? Let us see what Pliny says :—

XXIX. 39. The ashes of mice into which honey is dropped will cure earache. This is not very far from the powdered mice with sugar-candy in the Doddington MS. nor from the Lebanon custom. (If an insect has got into the ear use the gall of a mouse with vinegar.)

XXX. 21. There is medicine against calculus made of mouse-dung.

XXX. 23. Ulcers are cured by the ashes of a field-mouse in honey, and apparently, when burnt alive, they are good for ulcers on the feet.

Warts can be cured by the blood of a freshly killed mouse, or by the mouse itself if torn asunder.¹

If you want a sweet breath (XXX. 29) use as a tooth-powder mouse-ashes mixed with honey.

That will be enough to show that our seventeenth-century recipe is of the same kind, at all events, as those which were current in the first century ; and if this be so, may it not very well be the case that Apollo Smintheus, or the mouse-Apollo, is best explained by saying that the mouse was an early element in the healing art? I know it is usual to explain the mouse-Apollo on the assumption that Apollo, as the Averter, had rid the country of a plague of field-mice, and that this is the reason why the mouse appears with Apollo on the coins of Alexandria Troas. My solution appears to be the more natural.

¹ Cf. Diosc. "De mat. med." B. 74: *Μύας τοὺς κατοικιδίους ἀνασχισθέντας . . . βρωθέντας δὲ ὀπτοὺς κτέ.*

Moreover, there is another reason for explaining the concurrence of Apollo and the mouse in this way. The mouse is not the only little animal that Apollo is interested in. Archæologists will remember the famous statue of Apollo Sauroktonos, where the god is in the act of catching a lizard. Now we have no reason to suppose that there was a plague of lizards ; on the other hand, we do know that the lizard has a very important place in medicine. For instance, Pliny will tell us that to cure sores (XXX. 12) you must bind a green lizard on you, and change it every thirty days. If you are a woman use the heart of a lizard : (XXX. 23) the blood of a green lizard is a cure for the feet of men and cattle : (XXX. 49) a lizard killed in a particular way is an anti-aphrodisiac : (XXX. 24) its head, or blood, or ashes will remove warts : (XXVIII. 38) lizards are employed in many ways as a cure for the troubles of the eyes or (XXVIII. 39) of the ears.

From all of which we conclude that the lizard is very ancient medicine, and may very well have been in the Apolline pharmacopœia.

Now let us try a similar inquiry for Artemis. We will begin again with the Doddington Book, and extract some swallow-medicines. For instance, there is a recipe for making "oyle of swallows" by pounding them alive with various herbs. Then there is

My Aunt Markam's swallow-water.

"Take forty or fifty swallows when they are ready to fly, bruise them to pieces in a mortar, feathers and all together : you should put them alive into the mortar. Add to them one ounce of castorum in powder, put all these into a still with three pints of white wine vinegar ; distill it as any other water, there will be a pint of very good water, the other will be weaker : you may give two or three spoonfuls at a time with sugar. This is very good for the passion of the mother, for the passion of the Heart, for the falling-sickness, for sudden sounding fitts, for the dead Palsie, for Apoplexies, Lethargies, and any other distemper of the head, it comforteth the Braine, it is good for those that are distracted, and in great extremity of weakness, one of the best things that can be administered ; it's very good for convulsions." There is another similar remedy to Aunt Markham's in the book, which operates with "two doosen of Live swallows".

Evidently we have here the survival of a very ancient medicine ; its preparation is not a modern invention, except as regards the distil-

lation of the mixture ; and its comprehensiveness (for it is well on the road to being an all-heal) is also a mark of the early stages of the medical art. That Artemis is the patron of the swallow has been maintained : for instance, there is the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells (c. 11) from Boios, how she turned the maiden Chelidonia into a swallow, because she had called upon her in her virgin distress. This story, however, hardly proves of itself the point that we are after. The transformation comes in the midst of a number of other bird-changes, and need not carry any special meaning. If we could infer from it or from elsewhere that Artemis is patron of the swallow, we could easily go on to show from Pliny the prevalence of swallow-medicines in the same way that we found mouse-medicine and lizard-medicine ; and these swallow-medicines might be in the medical apparatus of Artemis. I have not, however, been able to make a consistent or a conclusive argument to this effect.

Amongst the plants that were in the garden of Artemis it seems clear that there was one marsh plant, whether it be the mugwort or not : for the title *Artemis Limnæa* or *Limnatis* is a well-known cult-expression. It must be old, too : for, by some confusion between *Limné* and *Limen* she came to be credited with the oversight of harbours, which, almost certainly, is not the function of the maid and woman's doctor. The expression *Artemis of the Harbour* seems to have had some diffusion, for, as we showed above, Callimachus asks the goddess which mountain she prefers, and which harbour she likes best. The most natural explanation of the Harbour goddess seems to be what we have suggested above.

The herbalists tell us to look for the plant by *runnels* and ditches, and some add (perhaps with Mt. Taygetus in mind) in stony places. We must try and find what the earliest of them say as to the habitat of the plant. If they mention marshes or lakes, then *Artemis Limnæa* is only another name for the Artemisia, or for some other plant in her herb-garden.

It is agreed on all hands that Artemis, in her earliest forms, is a goddess of streams and marshes : sometimes she is called the River-Artemis, or Artemis Potamia (see Pindar, "Pyth." II. 12), and sometimes she is named after swamps generally as Limnæa, the Lady of the Lake (Miss Lake), or Heleia (ἑλεῖα) the marsh-maiden (Miss Marsh), or from some particular marsh, as Stymphalos (Στυμφηλία),

or special river as the Alpheios (Ἀλφειαία). It seems to me probable that this is to be explained by the existence of some river or marsh plant which has passed into the medical use of the early Greek physicians. Artemis has been called the "Lady of the Lake," or "She of the Marsh"; that is a very good nomenclature for a magical marsh plant, as well as for the patroness of marshes and streams.

It is possible that there is a variety of the *Artemisia* which is peculiar to marsh-land. Pallas, in his "Voyages en différentes Provinces de Russie" (iv. 719), speaks of a variety "which is quite different from *Artemisia palustris*": but I do not see the latter name in Linnæus. [I notice, however, that in the British Museum copy of Gmelin, *Flora Siberiaca*, II. 119, against *Artemisia herbacea* is a note in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Banks, *Artemisia palustris* Linn.]

Now that we have established the existence of the garden of herbs (medical and magic) belonging to Hekaté and Artemis, it is proper to ask a question whether the name of Artemis came to be applied to any other of the plants in the herbarium beside the mother-plant, the mugwort. There are certain things which suggest that the name Artemis could be used like an adjective with a number of nouns. It will be noticed that this is almost implied in the title πολυώνυμος which is given to Artemis in the Orphic hymns and elsewhere. The objection to this would be that other gods and goddesses are sometimes called πολυώνυμος without suggesting that they are adjectival in character to other objects. In the case of Artemis the suggested adjective appears to be applied not only to the plants in the herbarium which she governs, but to the diseases to which the plants serve as healers. Gruppe points out the traces of an Artemis Podagra, the herb that cures gout, and Artemis Chelytis, which seems to be a cough mixture!¹ There is one case of extraordinary interest in which

¹ He is quoting from Clem. Alex. *protr.*, pp. 32, 33, and Clement is quoting from Sosibius: it is not quite clear whether the goddess is the disease to be propitiated in the Roman manner, or whether she is thought of as governing it. The Artemis Cults in question are Spartan, and therefore can be thought of in medical terms, for Artemis was certainly the Healer in Laconia.

Mugwort is still in use in China in the treatment of gout, as may be seen in the following extract from a letter of Prof. Giles:—

"There is quite a 'literature' about *Artemisia vulgaris*, L., which

we can register the transfer of the name of the goddess to a particular plant. We have already drawn attention to the *spring-wort*, which opens all doors and has the entrée to all treasure chambers; and we have shown that Artemis and Hekaté are called by the epithet κλειδοῦχος, the one that holds the key, and that Artemis shares this title with another shadowy goddess, a kind of double of her own, whose name is Προθυραία. My suggestion is that the epithet belongs to the spring-wort. Artemis holds the key because she is the spring-wort before which everything opens. If this can be made out for the origin, or rather for one of the first developments of the Artemis Cult (for we have given the first place to the mugwort), then we must, in view of the antiquity of this primitive medicine and these primitive and still widely spread superstitions, look for the same elements in the early Roman Cult. The Romans also must have believed in and honoured the spring-wort: it was not indeed their Diana who was κλειδοῦχος, it was the male counterpart and conjugate of Diana, viz. *Dianus* or *Janus*. One has only to recall the extraordinary antiquity of the Cult of Janus, and the position assigned to him as the opener and closer of all doors, and the genius of the opening year, and his actual representation as a key-bearer,¹ to justify us making a parallel between Janus with the keys, and Artemis (or Hekaté) κλειδοῦχος. The connection which the Latins make between Janus and *Janua* turns upon the same rights of ingress and egress. If Artemis is equated with Προθύραια, what are we to say to Macrobius² when he tells us that

apud nos Janum omnibus præesse januis nomen ostendit, quod est simile Θυραίῳ . . . omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum. He is almost called Προθύραιος in Diosc. (73, 13) where he is spoken of as

Τῷ Ἰάνῳ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

has been used in China from time immemorial for cauterizing as a counter-irritant, *especially in cases of gout*. Other species of *Artemisia* are also found in China."

¹For the representation of Janus with the key (whether interpreted sexually or otherwise) see Ovid, "Fasti," l. 9. :—

Ille tenens baculum dextra, clavemque sinistra :

or Macrobius, "Sat." l. 9, 7: cum clavi et virga figuratur.

²Macr., "Sat.," l. 9, 7.

The connection of Artemis and Prothyraëa is not unnaturally interpreted in the light of the phenomena of conception and child-birth over which they both preside : but the very same functions, or almost the same, are assigned to Janus by the Latins. The following references are given by Roscher (s.v. "Janus," col. 36). Aug. "de civit. Dei," 7, 2 :—

Ipse primum Janus cum puerperium concipitur. . . . aditum aperit recipiendo semini.

Ibid. 6, 9. Varro . . . enumerare deos coepit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum exorsus est a Jano.

Ibid. 7, 3. Illi autem quod aperitur conceptui non immerito adtribui : and for the key of Janus take

Paul. ("Epit. ex Festo," 56, 6) : *clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partus facilitatem.*

Following the analogy between the two cults in question, that of the Roman Janus and the Greek Artemis, we are led to conclude that each of them is in one point of view a personification of the powers and qualities of the spring-wort. Nor shall we be surprised when we find that Janus turns up with Picus in the oldest stratum of Roman religion, for the tradition of folk-lore connects the woodpecker and the spring-wurzel, and has much to say as to the guardianship of the former over the latter ; the early stratum of folk-lore answering to an early stratum of religion, when the vegetable and bird-forms have become human.

The spring-wort is obtained in the following manner, as described by Grimm¹ :—

"The nest of a green or black woodpecker, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung ; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that after using it."

Grimm goes on to quote from Conrad von Megenberg, who says

¹ "Teut. Myth." (Eng. tr.) III. 973.

that the bird is called in Latin *Merops*, and in German *bömheckel*, and that it brings a herb called *bömheckel-krut*, which it is not good for people generally to know of, as locks fly open before it. What is this mysterious herb which they call wonder-flower, key-flower, or spring-wurzel? The tradition is in Pliny (lib. 10, 18), "adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadem ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius¹ auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo."

We can only say of this magic herb, this key-plant or key-flower, that it was Janus and related to Picus; its mythological name was Janus, its botanical name is unknown.

It will have been remarked in the course of the argument that, although we have a very strong case for relating the mugwort to the patronage of Artemis and for identifying the patroness with the plant, yet the descriptions given of the plant's habitat are, perhaps, not sufficiently precise to make us safe in identifying the mugwort with the Artemis Limnæa.

There is, however, another famous magical and medical plant of antiquity that may meet the case more exactly. In Friend's "Flowers and Flower-Lore"² we find the following description of the *Osmunda Regalis*, or *King Fern*: "No one who has seen this stateliest of ferns in its most favoured haunts—some sheltered Cornish valley, the banks of a rushing Dartmoor stream, or the wooded margin of Grasmere or Killarney:—

Plant lovelier in its own retired abode
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere,
Sole sitting on the shores of old romance,

will doubt that its size and remarkable appearance . . . must always have claimed attention."

Here we have the very title "Lady of the Lake" given by Wordsworth to the *Osmunda Fern*.³ This is very like to Artemis Limnæa. Let us see what the herbals say of the places where it is to be found. Parkinson says of it,⁴ "It groweth on moores, bogs, and watery

¹ c. 150 B.C. See Plin., "H.N." IX. 89.

² l.c. I. 159.

³ "Poems on the Naming of Places," IV.

⁴ "Theatrum Botanicum," p. 1039.

places, in many places of this land. I took a roote thereof for my garden, from the bogge on Hampstead Heathe, not far from a small cottage there."¹

It is not easy, however, to decide whether the Greek herbalists used the King Fern as distinct from other varieties. The ordinary fern is gathered religiously on Midsummer Eve, as Parkinson says, "with I know not what conjuring words," and fern-seed thus acquired is a very ancient medicine for producing invisibility, and for the discovery of treasure: but whether the same thing applies to the *Osmunda* is not clear. All that we have made out with certainty is that its habitat would suit an *Artemis Limnæa*, or *Heleia*, or *Stymphalia*. We need further light on the meaning of the gathering of the Midsummer fern, as well as the parallel rite of the finding of the St. John's wort, and we also want to know much more about the spring-wort. What was it? It is not easy to decide. Several of the magical plants of antiquity can open doors and locate treasure. As we have already stated it was employed by *Artemis-Hekaté*.

Here is another passage in the Orphic "*Argonautica*," which shows how closely *Artemis* and *Hekaté* were identified in the quest for the Fleece. *Hekaté* is described as follows:—

ἦν τέ νυ Κόλχοι
"Ἀρτεμιν ἐμπυλὴν κελαδόδρομον ἱλάσκονται.

Here we note the title of "*Our Lady of the Gate*," which may be a description of her functions as birth-helper, but applies equally well to the more general power of opening gates and bars, such as is involved in the possession of the spring-wort: and certainly it must be this plant which is answerable for the following ll. 986 ff.:—

ἐν δ' ἄφαρ Ἀρτέμιδος φρούρον δέμας ἦκε χάμαζε
πέυκας ἐκ χειρῶν, ἐς δ' οὐρανὸν ἤραρεν ὅσσε.
σαῖνον δὲ σκύλακες πρόπολοι, λύνοντο δ' ὀχῆες
κλείθρων ἀργαλέων, ἅνα δ' ἔπτατο καλὰ θύρετρα
τείχεος εὐρυμενοῦς, ὑπεφαίνετο δ' ἄλσος ἐρανόυ.

¹ The belief that the *Osmunda* was to be found on Hampstead Heath has come down to our own time. Mrs. Cook of Hampstead, mother of Mr. A. B. Cook, an old lady of eighty-six, knows the tradition well. She writes that she has herself seen it there: "I well remember seeing the *Osmunda Regalis* growing beside the 'Leg of Mutton' pond on Hampstead Heath, though I can't say whether it is there now, for I cannot go out to look".

Here the action is precisely that of the magical spring-wort. This may then be taken as having been in the possession of Artemis.

Artemis, then, may be regarded as a witch with a herb garden, the patroness of women's medicine and of women's magic. Her most powerful charms are the *Artemisia* (mugwort) and the spring-wort (not yet identified with certainty). She is content with the normal processes of nature over which she presides, and does not operate with philtres or artificial stimulants. Her magic is mainly protective. Its chief form consists in the plucking of the mugwort on St. John's Eve and wearing it in the girdle. For this reason the mugwort is called St. John's girdle; it was really Diana's girdle, or Our Lady's girdle. The Venetians call it "*Herba della Madonna*".¹

In Rutebeuf's "*Dit de l'Herberie*,"² we are told as follows:—

"Les fames en ceignent le soir de la S. Jehan et en font chapiaux seur lor chiez, et diete que goutte ne avertins (i.e. neither gout nor epilepsy) ne les puet panre (i.e. atteindre) n'en chiez, n'en braz, n'en pie, n'en main."

The passage is interesting in that it shows that the Artemisian magic is protective in character, and also incidentally that one thing against which protection is obtained is the gout, which throws light on the meaning of Artemis Podagra to which we were referring previously. It must be taken to mean that she wards off the gout and other troubles. This protective magic obtained by herbs gathered on St. John's Eve can be illustrated from other plants besides the mugwort. The inhabitants of the island of Zante, for example, gather the vervain at the same time of the year, and "carry this plant in their cincture, as an amulet to drive away evil spirits, and to preserve them from various mischief".³

I think it can be shown that in certain cases the plants were not merely placed in the girdle, but actually made into a cincture. For instance, J. B. Thiers in his "*Traité des Superstitions*" gives a summary of practices condemned by the Church, including:—

Se ceindre de certaines herbes la vielle de Saint Jean, précisément lorsque midi sonne, pour être préservé de toutes sortes de maléfices.

¹ Lenz, "*Botanik u. mineralogie der alten Griechen u. Römer*," p. 185.

² Rutebeuf, i. 257.

³ Walpole, "*Memoirs of Travels in Turkey*," p. 248.

Bertrand in "La Religion des Gaulois" (p. 408) quotes a correspondent's description of the Midsummer fires as practised in Creuse et Corrèzes : The fathers and mothers warm themselves at the bonfire, taking care to *put round their middles* a girdle of rye stalks. Aromatic plants are gathered by the young people, and kept throughout the year as specifics against sickness and thunder.

It will be remembered that in discussing the origin of the healing powers of Apollo, and locating them in the first instance in the mistletoe, we were able to show that this elementary medicine, without an external anthropomorph to preside over it, was still current among the Ainu of Japan, who regard the mistletoe as an Allheal, after the manner of the Celtic Druids. From the same quarter, or nearly the same, comes the interesting verification of the correctness of our belief in the primitive sanctity of the vegetables that became respectively Dionysos and Artemis.

We learn from Georgi, the editor of eighteenth-century travels in Siberia, and author of a book entitled "Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie," that "*the pine-tree, a kind of mugwort and the ivy* of Kamschatka are the plants consecrated to the gods, and their scent is agreeable to them ; that is why they decorate their idols and their victims with these plants ".

Here are Dionysos and Artemis on their way to personification : we must not take too seriously what the writer says about the gods and the idols. No doubt he is right that they had sacrifices of some kind to spirits, but it is not necessary to assume that Kamschatka, any more than Northern Japan, was at the Greek level in religion.

Georgi adds a note to his description of the mugwort in Siberia, to the effect that the plant is called Irwen by the Katchins in Burma and some other peoples. Apparently this means that mugwort has come into Northern Burma as a medicinal plant.¹ If this can be established, the antiquity and diffusion of the Artemis medicine is sufficiently established. The evidence which Georgi brings forward of the cult use of ivy amongst the Kamschatkans will require an important correction to one of our speculations in the Essay on the "Cult of Dionysos." It will be remembered that we explained the title of

¹ As we shall see later (p. 96) there is some mistake in this reference of Georgi.

Perikionios applied to Dionysos as being a Greek variation on a title Perkunios, implying that Dionysos was affiliated to the Thunder-god Perkun. Let us see what Georgi has further to say about the Ivy-Cult.

“ Les Kamschatdales érigent dans leur déserts de petites colonnes qu'ils entourent de lierre, et les regardent comme des Dieux, en leur adressant un culte religieux ” (l.c. p. 149).

It seems that this is the same cult as that of Dionysos Perikionios among the Greeks, and in a very early form. We may therefore discard, as Mr. A. B. Cook suggested, the derivation of Perikionios from Perkun.

Enough has been said to illustrate the magic of Artemis, and we only need to be reminded once more that the medicine of the past lies close to the magic, and cannot be dissociated from it. Artemis is at once a plant, a witch, and a doctor. Her personification may be illustrated from “The Times” obituary for 24 February, 1916, which contains the name Beifus! The name is more common than one would at first imagine. My friend, Conrad Gill, writes me that “there was a lieutenant named Beyfus in the battalion of which my brother was medical officer”. I noted recently a by-form of the same name in a book-catalogue:—

Beibitz (J. H.): *Jesus Salvator Mundi*: Lenten Thoughts.

This is the same name as the German *Beiboz*.

When Aristides, the Christian philosopher of the second century, denounced the irregularities of the Olympians, he said of Artemis that it was “disgraceful that a maid should go about by herself on mountains and follow the chase of beasts: and therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess”; the form taken by the apologetic is hardly one that commends itself to the present generation; even in Wordsworth's time it would have been subject to the retort,

Dear child of nature, let them rail! •

Our investigation, then, is a missing link in the propagandist literature of Christianity!

NOTES ON MOUSE MEDICINE.

We suggested in the previous lecture that "the mouse was an early element in the healing art," and that it was in this direction that we were to find the explanation of the mouse-Apollo (Apollo Smintheus), Apollo being the healer and the mouse the healing: and it seemed that this was a more natural solution than the explanation of Apollo ridding a community of a plague of field-mice, or of a plague introduced by rats or mice. It was no small satisfaction, therefore, to be advised publicly by Prof. Elliot Smith, who was acting as my chairman on the occasion of the delivery of the lecture, that he had himself discovered in pre-dynastic mummies in Egypt traces of the use of such a mouse-medicine, and, in particular, that it was a medicine for children. This discovery shows that we are not dealing with anything local, as in the case of Apollo Smintheus at Alexandria Troas; nor with anything epidemic, for in that case how does the mouse come to be a medicine for children? but with a *bona fide* element of the earliest pharmacopœia of the human race.

Prof. Elliot Smith further wrote to me as follows:—

"17. iii. 16.

"DEAR DR. RENDEL HARRIS,

"I discovered the mice in children's stomachs in 1902 at Naga-ed-Der (near Abydos in Upper Egypt) where Dr. Reisner was excavating a cemetery of the earliest known pre-dynastic period; so that the bodies found represent the earliest human remains of which any of the 'soft parts' have been preserved. So far the only reference to the matter that I have published is a paragraph in my little book on 'The Ancient Egyptians' (*Harper's*, 1911, p. 43).

"In 1906 Dr. Fritz Netolitzky, of Czernowitz, who was investigating the food materials and herbs used by pre-historic peoples, wrote and asked me to supply him with materials for the alimentary canals of early Egyptians; and he discovered fragments of mice in other pre-dynastic bodies. Unfortunately I have mislaid his memoir, but if I can find it you shall have it. However his observation adds nothing more than independent confirmation of my statement. I am sorry that I haven't a copy of my book to send you. The statement on p. 43 reads:—

"The occasional presence of the remains of mice in the alimentary canals of children, under circumstances which prove that the small rodent had been eaten after being skinned,¹ is a discovery of very great interest, for Dr. Netolitzky informs me that the body of a mouse was the last resort of medical practitioners in the East several millennia later as a remedy for children *in extremis*."

Thus far Prof. Elliot Smith.

The paper in question by Netolitzky is taken from *Zeitschrift für Untersuchung der Nahrungs- und Genussmittel, so wie der Gebrauchsgegenstände*, 1911, Band 21, Heft 10, the title of the article being *Nahrungs- und Heilmittel der Urägypter*, von Dr. Fritz Netolitzky. The important sentences in the report on the examination of the interiors of pre-dynastic mummies are the following:—

(p. 610.) "Nach der Lagerung in dem Darminhalte und dem Erhaltungszustande der Knochen, von denen kein einziger unzerbrochen ist, ferner aus dem Fehlen von Haaren, die wohl erhaltungsfähig gewesen wären, schliesse ich, dass die Mäuse im abgezogenen Zustande gegessen worden ist und nicht durch einige Wühlthatigkeit nachträglich in die Leiche gelangte."

He goes on to quote from Otto Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Band i. 206, on the use of African mice in lung troubles: "gleichwie das Silphion die Schwindsucht heilte, so schrieb man auch den afrikanischen Mäusen besonders Kräfte gegen Lungenkrankheiten zu und abgehäutet und in Salz und öl gekocht, bilden sie eine relativ recht erträgliche Arznei (cf. Plin. XXX, § 43)."

It is certainly curious to mark the persistence of one of the earliest medicines of the human race: for it would be easy to show that it has continued to our own time, and is even at present a known remedy of the nursery. Children, who are afflicted with a particular trouble at night, used to be doctored by their nurses with a mouse-pie: and though the actual medicine is passing into desuetude, the threat of its application is still extant and operative, especially in the N. of England. Prof. Elliot Smith draws my attention to a statement in *Notes and Queries* for 30 November, 1850 (1st series, ii. pp. 435) to the same effect as we have noted above, with this remarkable addendum: "I am told the faculty employ this remedy and that it has been prescribed in the Oxford Infirmary". From which it appears that Oxford may be the "home of lost medicines"! Prof. Elliot Smith asks me pertinently, "Are you aware that the mouse is still 'going

¹ Cf. the Doddington Book, *supra*: "You must flea the mice before you frie them".

strong' in England?" In this district (sc. S.W. Lancs.) the mouse is used as medicine for such childish ailments as whooping-cough and measles, and a child who "misconducts itself at night, is threatened with the mouse as a remedy".

"From Mr. Robert Standen of the Manchester Museum I received a very illuminating communication on the same subject, to the effect that a certain cure for the cases referred to, according to the common belief when he was a boy (and I can testify the same for the West of England) was to give them a mouse-pie, or make them eat a mouse somehow. 'Usually the mouse was cooked along with some other food and eaten unknown by the persons affected: but they were always told of it afterwards, and it was always claimed as a cure.' Sometimes I have heard it threatened and this has sufficed to stop the nuisance. The idea extends all through North Lancashire even yet, amongst town and country folk alike. Whilst I was a teacher at the Swinton Industrial Schools about 25 years ago I found the boys implicit believers in the idea. . . . The head boys in the dormitories always carried out the sentence: and I believe it was effective in most cases. I got to know of the practice through the boys begging for a penny to buy a mouse trap to catch a mouse to cure so-and-so, etc."

So the eldest and the newest medicine meet, and Apollo Smintheus is with us yet.

A FURTHER NOTE ON IVY AND MUGWORT IN SIBERIA.

The foregoing instances of vegetable sanctities amongst the Kāmschatdols appear to be closely parallel to the use of ivy and mugwort by the early Greek witch-doctors. It will be well to examine further into the evidence for such parallelisms. We quoted in the first instance from Georgi, who appears to have compiled and popularised the accounts of the first Russian explorers in Siberia, such as Steller and Krāshenninnikoff. As the works of these first explorers are not easily accessible, either in Russian or in translations, we have had a good deal of difficulty in finding out what was actually recorded by the explorers themselves. Georgi is by no means to be depended on without further verification. For instance, he refers, as we stated above, to the use of a particular kind of mugwort among the Katchins in Upper Burma: not unnaturally I began an inquiry into the medicine of these primitive hill-tribes who are supposed to have come down out of Central Asia. Upon examination, however, of the literature of Siberian exploration it turned out that Georgi had blundered. For instance in Gmelin's *Flora Siberica* (ii. 124) after describing a variety of mugwort, we are told "*Tataris Krasnoiarensibus Irben dicitur,*

eiusque ramulos tempore sacrificiorum aut potius praestigiarum carbonibus inspergunt, ad deorum diabolorumque, quos sibi fingunt, favorem sibi conciliandum ”.

It seems clear that this is the same mugwort under the very same name that Georgi has referred to the Katchins of Burma; in which mistake he has misled Bertrand who quotes from him in his *Religion des Gaulois* (pp. 395-96). It is clear that we must investigate the sources of these statements concerning the habits of the Kamschatdals and other primitive Siberian peoples. This is no easy matter, as the translations made from the original Russian accounts are often very free and quite inaccurate, and we are not even sure that the Russian travellers have limited themselves to their own observations, without drawing upon extant traditions: so we must walk very carefully: the chief authorities will be:—

Krashenninnikoff: *Travels in Siberia*: during the years 1733-43: this book was published in 1755, and appeared in a French translation as *Voyage en Sibirie, contenant la description de Kamtschatka*, at Paris in 1768; another French translation appeared at Amsterdam in 1770. Part of the same work was published in English in 1764 at Gloucester, by James Grieve, M.D., under the title *The History of Kamschatka and the Kurile Islands* (the printer is the celebrated Robert Raikes).¹

Krashenninnikoff himself died in 1755 just as the printing of his work (including the researches of his companion Steller, who had died of fever in 1745) was completed. This work is of prime importance for the student of folklore and anthropology.

With this great work we must take:—

Steller, G. W., *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*. Petersburg, 1774.

Gmelin, *Reise durch Siberien von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743*. Göttingen, 1751-2.

Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*. Petersburg, 1771-6 (of which there is a French translation by Gauthier de la Peyronne in 5 tom., 1778-93).

S. Muller, *Voyages from Asia to America*, which appeared in an English translation by Jefferys in 1761.

Georgi, *Description de toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russia* (troisième collection, 1777).

It is to these writers that we must look in our inquiries into the customs of Kamschatka and Siberia in the early part of the eighteenth century.

¹ I believe this most inaccurate translation was retranslated both into French and German.

Clearly the matter upon which we have stumbled is of the first importance: if ivy and mugwort were of magical and religious importance amongst the un-Russianised populations of North-Eastern Asia two hundred years since, we have an almost certain survival of the cults that underlie the Greek worship of Artemis and of Dionysos: and if they trained the sacred ivy upon rude pillars, we need no further explanation of Dionysos Perikionios.

Suppose, then, that we admit the existence of a primitive custom of training ivy on pillars; what meaning are we to attach to the usage? For it certainly must have been done in the earliest ages with deliberate intention. We are obliged to conjecture the intention, and in doing so, we must be guided by the discovery we have previously made of the cause of ivy-sanctity. The training of ivy over pillars is something more than the cultivation of common ivy: it is the transplanting of sacred ivy, no doubt with the wish to secure its virtues for practical purposes. In Siberia we have the earliest stage of the cult.

We have, however, not only the worship of the aniconic pillar, hardly differing from a tree with ivy growing upon it, but we have also the pillar surmounted by a carved head as one of the fundamental sanctities in the underground dwellings of the Kamschatdals. The evidence of this lies in the works of the first group of Russian explorers in Siberia, Krasheninnikoff and his companions. In referring to the importance of the travels of Steller, Krasheninnikoff, and others, it may be well to recall a recent statement of Miss Czaplicka to the effect that "if the Kamschadal had not been described (by the aforesaid travellers) we should have as little knowledge of them as we have of the extinct tribes, since the Kamschadal are now quite intermixed with Russians".¹

Now let us see what light we get on the Kamschatdal worship in its primitive form from the *Voyages in Sibérie*. We are advised that there are two idols in the underground Kamschatdal dwelling, one of which is in the shape of a woman, with her lower half in the shape of a fish; the other is a herm or pillar with a carved head. The woman-fish is renewed every year, and the collocation of the successive images makes the historical calendar of the Kamschatdales. The god of the herm is supposed to preside over the dwelling as a tutelary spirit, and is rewarded for his care by offerings of food and unguents. Here are some of the descriptions:—

"L'Idole *Ajouchak* est une petite colonne dont le bout est fait en forme de tête d'homme. Ils la font présider sur les ustensiles de la maison et la regardent comme un dieu tutélaire qui éloigne de la lourte (i.e. the underground dwelling) les esprits malfaisants des bois. C'est pourquoi ils lui

¹ *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. xii.

donnent à manger chaque jour, la frottent et lui oignent la tête et le visage de sarana cuite, ou de poisson. Les Kamtchadals du Midi ont la même idole." ¹

"L'Idole *Khantai* est taillée comme une Sirène, c'est à dire qu'elle a la forme d'un homme depuis la tête jusqu'à le poitrine, et le reste du corps ressemble à la queue d'un poisson. Sa place est ordinairement près du foyer. Ils disent qu'ils lui donnent cette figure, parce qu'il y a un esprit de ce nom. Chaque année, à la purification des fautes, ils en fabriquent une semblable, qu'ils placent auprès de l'ancienne; et en comptant le nombre des Idoles qui sont auprès du foyer, on sait combien il y a d'années que le lourte est batie."

Such was the religious apparatus among the primitive tribes in Kamschatka in the early part of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1733-43). The pictures which the Russian artists made of Siberian life were not of sufficient artistic merit to satisfy the French editors; they have accordingly improved somewhat upon them, and gave us the picture of the underground dwelling with its hearth and idols, a sufficiently accurate representation to help us in understanding Kamschatkan life and Kamschatkan religion at that period. And how important this single glimpse of an extinct cult may be! We have already pointed out that the existence of an ivy-clad herm in Siberia may require a modification of our previous explanation of Dionysos Perikionios. Yet that we have Dionysos here in the germ can hardly be doubted even if the title Perikionios should turn out to be only Greek. Whatever the title may be, the thing itself of which the title is predicated is here before us. When we have examined the rude idealisation which the Kamschatkans made of their protecting spirit, we may set over against it the lovely pair of Dionysiac herms in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, which are prefixed to this volume. Here we have Bacchus in three forms before us: (1) as a simple herm; (2) as the ivy embracing the herm; (3) as a feminine conjugate (Ariadne) crowned like himself with vine, and embraced by ivy. After all, it is not such a very long way from Kamschatka to Pompeii. It is not so easy to get rid of the gods, when you have once established the cult of them.

Hardly less interesting than the ivy-clad pillar and the associated herm is the female goddess with the fish termination. Archæologists will at once begin to recall the various fish forms of Greek and Oriental religions, the Dagon and Derceto of the Philistines, the Oannes of the Assyrians, Eurynome of the Greek legends and the like. It would be improbable that, at so early a stage of an inquiry which takes us so very far afield, we should

¹*Voyage en Sibérie*, vol. ii. p. 25.

be able to write the story of the evolution of the fish-goddesses, the Sirens and the like: but in any case, it seems probable that Kamschatka will furnish one of the elements of the ultimate solution, just as it furnishes an element of the elucidation of the obscurities of the Greek herm and what we may call the involved hermology. In Greek life it also appears that the pillar became an icon or herm by the carving of a head upon it; and the usage thus produced could either be regarded as Dionysos, who thus appears decked with his own cult-symbol; or it could be explained as Hermes, in which case the god is *κισσοφόρος*, the ivy-bearer, a conception which, in the language of the fine arts, is interpreted as Hermes bearing the infant Bacchus. Let us hope we have done Praxiteles no wrong by our explanations.

The discovery of the primitive sanctity of ivy and mugwort and mistletoe makes a strong link between the early Greek and other early peoples both East and West, and it is probable that we shall find many more contacts between peoples that, as far as geography and culture go, are altogether remote. One of the first questions that will naturally be asked is whether we are able to detect any other common magical roots or plants. Has Kamschatka any further comments to make upon Greek magic or Greek medicine? We propose to answer the question by bringing forward another remarkable parallel from the botanical world.

The Kamschatdals (and other Siberian tribes) manufacture for themselves intoxicating and stupefying drinks, which have a religious value, and are employed by their Shamans, in order to produce prophetic states of inspiration. For instance, there is an intoxicating fungus, which they eat and also make into a drink. Here is an account which is given of these proceedings by Georgi:—

“Les Youkaguires aiment l'ivresse et une imagination échauffée, plus que tous les autres Peuples Septentrionaux, aussi le tabac et le *champignon enyvrant* sont-ils fort en vogue chez eux. Il y en a qui mangent jusqu'à quatre de ces champignons, et Steller raconte” (here follow some very unpleasant accounts of the way in which the desired inspiration is obtained by the tribe). After which we are told: “L'usage de ces champignons ne produit ni un échauffement sensible dans le sang, ni une circulation accélérée, mais les nerfs en sont tellement affectés, que plusieurs d'entre eux durant l'ivresse sont dans un tremblement continu. Ces yvrognes deviennent stupides dans la vieillesse. Durant les effets de ces vapeurs, ils s'imaginent être d'une taille gigantesque, ou d'une grosseur prodigieuse, et croyant posséder de grands trésors. Il y en a qui couchent sur le dos, chantent des chansons remplies de fleurettes et de belles imaginations: d'autre disent des extravagances sur l'avenir etc.”

These intoxications appear amongst most of the Siberian tribes; and the curious thing is that they have an anti-intoxicant, which they use to moderate their frenzies, and to recover sobriety. The plant which they employ is the *Epilobium Angustifolium* of which they make a pleasant infusion, which operates upon the nerves and produces calm and delightful feelings. They drink this not only on its own account, but as we have said, as an anti-intoxicant, to modify the action of the poisonous mushroom, or other excessive stimulants like the *Heracleum Sphondylium*: and it is interesting to observe that *the infusion of the very same plant was used by the Greek medicine man as a sedative to allay passion and violence*. If this can be established we have another plant to add to the Graeco-Siberio pharmacopœia. Let us then see what traces we can find of the use of the *Epilobium* infusion.

The first thing to be noticed is that Dioscorides tells us that if the infusion were to be drunk by wild beasts they would immediately become tractable and tame. Dioscorides calls the plant *Onagra*, and his commentator Sprengel makes the identification with the *Epilobium*. The following is the language of Dioscorides as to the virtue of the plant:—

δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀπόβρεγμα τῆς ῥίζης, ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀγρίων ζώων πινόμενον, ἡμεροῦν αὐτά· καταπρασθεῖσα
δὲ πραύνει τὰ θηριώδη ἔλκη.

The plant is a beast-tamer, and if used as a poultice it allays beastly and malignant sores.

Now it is clear that no one ever made an infusion of *Epilobium* tea for the sake of operating upon wild beasts; it must have been a human medicine extended experimentally to wild beasts. We shall see presently that it was extended to tame beasts in the first instance, to make them tamer. We may, then, assume that the Greeks also used the anti-intoxicant made from the leaves of *Epilobium*, much in the same way as they do in Kamschatka: for this assumption appears to be necessary in order to explain the language of Dioscorides: and we are within the bounds of lawful conjecture and have the support of analogy if we argue that the existence of the oldest temperance drink in the world was due to the previous existence of certain earlier non-temperance drinks, such as we find current in Siberia. Thus the beast that has to be tamed is, in the first instance, the man!

Now let us see what further evidence we can get for such medicines and beverages. Dioscorides' evidence is incomplete: he often ignores points of view which we could wish him to have occupied. In what precedes we had no definite statement about the manufacture of the sedative

drink. We were obliged to read between the lines and argue from the medicine of the zoological garden to the ordinary pharmacy. We are not, however, limited to what Dioscorides says about the *Onagra*; for there is a companion plant, hardly to be distinguished from it, which has similar virtues and a more extended attestation. Gesner, for example, identifies *Epilobium* with a variety of the *Herb Willow* which the Greeks call *Lysimachia*. The name of the plant implies that it is a peace-maker, and one variety of it, common in many English landscapes, has translated and perpetuated the Greek name as *Loose Strife*. One wonders how many people who gather the beautiful purple *Loose Strife* know that its name comes from the early Greek medicine! Assuming the close connection between the *Loose Strifes* and the *Epilobium Angustifolium*, we turn to our herbals and medical botanists to see what they have to say about the matter.

Gerarde tells us (p. 479) that "Lysimachia, as Dioscorides and Pliny write, tooke his name of a special vertue that it hath in *appeasing the strife* and unruliness, which falleth out among oxen at the plough, if it be put about their yoke: but it rather retaineth and keepeth the name Lysimachie, of King Lysimachus the sonne of Agathocles, the first finder out of the nature and virtues of this herb, as Pliny saith in his 25. book, chapter 7, which retaineth the name of him to this day and was made famous by Erasistratus . . . it is called in English *Willow Herbe* or *Herbe Willow*, and *Loose Strife*."

Here we have the use of a sedative applied externally to restive oxen, and it is clear that we are in the region of magic, rather than of medicine properly so-called. The passage of Pliny which Gerarde is retailing is as follows:—

"Invenit et Lysimachus quae ab eo nomen retinet, celebrata Eratistrato. folia habet salicis viridia, florem purpureum, fruticosa ramulis erectis, odore aeri. gignitur in aquosis. vis eius tanta est, ut iumentis discordantibus iugo imposita asperitatem cohibeat." (*H.N.* XXV, 7 (35).)

We may set on one side the invention of the plant by King Lysimachus, just as in the parallel case of the discovery of mugwort by Queen Artemisia. The medicine with which we are dealing antedates by far the period of historical monarchies. We may, however, very reasonably ask whether any of these cognate sedatives, to which beasts become tractable, may not have been found in the medicine gardens which belonged to the Greek gods and goddesses who possessed medical degrees and discharged medical functions. The two cases which immediately come to one's mind are those of Artemis and of Dionysos. She with her lion, and he with his panther (augmented by the later Alexander histories with the tiger) are

very good illustrations of the personification of a plant that makes wild beasts tame; and it is quite within the bounds of probability that the already personified divinities of the ivy and the mugwort may have taken on the additional representation of such powerful medicine as that which we have been describing. Did not Artemis obtain the title of Hemera from the cure effected at her shrine of the mad daughters of Proitos?

Reviewing the investigation, so far as it has gone, we see reason to believe that the doctrine of the *antidote* or counter-irritant, the sedative or de-stimulant, given as a corrective to an emotion or taken along with it, must be very early. It belongs in part to the practice of magic rather than medicine, but, as we have often pointed out, there is no sharp distinction between the two categories. We may say, if we like, that mandrake, or loose strife, applied externally (as to the heads of oxen) belongs to this world of magic, and that when taken internally they constitute medicine, but it is doubtful if primitive man would have understood the distinction. The taming of wild beasts is done by the use of drugs or herbs: take, for instance, that witch Kirké: she is introduced to us surrounded by lions and wolves whom she has tamed; how did she do it? Homer lets us into the secret:—

τοὺς αὐτὴ κατέθελεξεν, ἐπεὶ κακὰ φάρμακ' ἔδωκεν
—*Od.* x. 213.

She had given them Lysimachia, or perhaps something more deadly than loose strife. At all events the lions were medically treated. Then she had some herbal charms for the companions of Ulysses, which could only be met by a still more powerful medicine, to wit, the moly. If one may judge from the Homeric description of a plant with a black root with milky blossoms, which it was dangerous to dig up, the moly should be another name for the mandrake.¹

It is interesting to notice that the mandrake as an anti-vinous medicine had a decided reputation. In fact, if the produce of your vineyard needed, when turned into wine, to have its strength or acidity reduced, the proper remedy was to plant mandrake in the neighbourhood of the vines.

Thus Lyly, *Euphues* (ed. Arber, 493):—

“They that fear their vines will make too sharp wine must . . . graft next to them Mandrage which causeth the grape to be more pleasant.” I do not know the author from whom Lyly or his horticultural friends derive

¹ Homer, *Od.* 10, 305:—

μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί· χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι· θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται

this, but it is clearly an ancient magical practice, based on the theory of the powers of mandrake as an antidote.

In view of what has been stated with regard to the taming of beasts by Kirke, and the doctrine of charm and countercharm, we need have little hesitation in saying that if the Greek gods, as Dionysos and Artemis, are affirmed to have tamed wild panthers, lions, etc., there is no need to remove the operations of these deities from the catalogue of herbs used in medicine. The only difficulty lies in the determination of the particular herbs that may be involved in the subjection of any particular wild beast. All we can do is to collect the primitive stimulants and anti-stimulants and to infer that this herb will make a man into a beast, and the counter herb will turn a beast into the gentleness of a man. Some of these herbs have already come to light in a preceding inquiry.

THE MUGWORT IN ANGLO-SAXON MEDICINE.

It will be interesting to register some of the references to the mugwort as medicine which occur in the Anglo-Saxon medical works. In Cockayne's *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms* we shall find a number of these books of healing and of charm translated. Here are some extracts:—

(i. p. 103.) (*Artemisia Vulgaris*) Mugwort XI. (*Midgewort*). "This wort, which is called *Artemisia* and by another name mugwort, is produced in stony places and in sandy places. Then if any propose a journey, let him take to him in hand this wort *Artemisia*, and let him have it with him, then he will not feel much toil in his journey. And it also puts to flight devil-sickness (demoniac possession); and in the house in which he hath it within, it forbiddeth evil leechcrafts, and also it turneth away the 'evil' eyes of evil men. For sore of inwards, take the same wort, and mix it with new beer; give it to drink, soon it relieves the sore of the inwards. For sore of the feet, take the same wort, and pound it with lard, lay it to the feet; it removes the soreness of the feet."

(*Artemisia dranunculus*) Mugwort XII. (The Saxon says *Herba Artemisia traganthes* (l. *taygetes*) that is mugwort.) "For sore of the bladder, and in case that a man cannot pass water, take juice of this wort, which is also called mugwort; it is, however, of another sort; and boil it in hot water or in wine, and give it to drink.

"For sore of thighs, take this same wort, and pound it with lard, and wash it well with vinegar, bind it next to the sore; and on the third day it will be well with them.

"For sore of sinews and for swelling take the same wort *Artemisia*; pound it with oil well boiled; lay it thereto, it heals wonderfully.

"If one be much and heavily troubled with gout, then take two roots of this same wort, give them to eat in honey, and soon after he will be healed and cleansed, so that thou wilt not think that it (the wort) has so great efficacy.

"If one be affected with fevers, let him take the juice of this same wort with oil, and smear it (on him); it soon will do away the fever."

(*Artemisia Pontica*) Mugwort XIII. "This wort the third which is called *λεπτόφυλλος*, and by another name *mugwort*, is produced about ditches and on old barrows. If thou breakest the blossoms, it has a flavour as elder.

"For sore of the maw take this wort and pound it, and boil it well with oil of almond, in the manner that thou wouldest work a plaister, put it then on a clean cloth and lay it thereto; within five days he will be whole. And if a root of this wort be hung over the door of any house, then may not any man damage the house.

"For quaking of the sinews take juice of the same wort, mixed with oil, smear them then therewith; they will cease the quaking and it will take away all the mischief. Verily of these three worts, which we named *Artemisias*, it is said that Diana should find (found) them, and delivered their powers and leechdoms to Chiron, the Centaur, who first from these worts set forth a leechdom, and he named these roots from the name of Diana, *Ἀρτεμισία*, that is *Artemisias*."

All the foregoing mixture of magic and medicine; agreeing closely with Dioscorides, is taken from the *Herbarium* of Apuleius.

Note especially the cure of gout and of travel-weariness.

In the same collection we shall find in a book of recipes (vol. iii. 31) there is a charm to be said over mugwort, as follows:—

Have a mind, mugwort,
What thou mentionedst,
What thou preparedst
At the prime telling.
Una thou highest
Eldest of worts:
Thou hast might for three
And against thirty;
For venom availest,
For flying vile things,
Mighty against loathed ones
That through the land rove.

Other herbs are addressed in somewhat similar language: we note the

underlying *mater herbarum* ("elder of worts") as a description of mugwort.

In a leech-book (vol. ii. p. 1) of the same collection from the MS. Reg. 12 D. XVII) we again find the use of mugwort to travellers emphasised, as follows :—

"For mickle travelling overland, lest he tire, let him take mugwort to him in hand, or put it into his shoe, lest he should weary, and when he will pluck it before the upgoing of the sun, let him say first these words, 'I will take thee, Artemisia, lest I be weary on the way etc.'. Sign it with the sign of the cross, when thou pullest it up."

A pretty transition from pagan medicine to Christian !



MANDRAKE

(From Sibthorp's "Flora Graeca")

a Calyx cum pistillo. b Corolla, arte explanata, cum staminibus. c Pistillum
seorsim. d Baccae naturae. e Stamen.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APHRODITE.

WE have in previous essays shown that it was possible to dig down to the ground form of a number of the cults of the divinities which go to make up the Greek pantheon. Dionysus has been traced back to the ivy on the oak, and we can go no further in the direction of origins than this ; we are actually at the starting-point of the cult, whatever other elements, ritual or orgiastic, may be combined with the Ivy Cult. In the same way Apollo has been traced to the mistletoe on the apple-tree, which is a secondary form of the mistletoe on the oak, and we have shown that his skill as a healer and master in wizardry is due to the all-healing powers of his mistletoe and to certain other plants in his medical garden. From these conceptions the Apollo Cult must proceed, and although there is still some unresolved complexity in the cult, the major part of it is translucent enough. Artemis, too, with her woman's medicines, and garden of herbs helpful and of herbs hurtful, is now a much more intelligible figure, though still containing perplexities for further study and resolution. She, too, is, in the first instance, personified medicine.

We now pass on to the Cult of Aphrodite, and find ourselves face to face with a problem in which our previous investigations appear not to lend any assistance. She is a daughter of Zeus by tradition, apparently of Zeus and Dione, but there seems no way of attaching her to the sky, either bright or dark, or to the oak-tree, or to the woodpecker, or to the ivy or the mistletoe, or to a medical garden. Moreover, by common consent, she is ruled out of the company of gods with Greek originals. She is an immigrant in the Greek pantheon, an alien, however desirable, and however much at home. Her luggage has Cyprus labels on it, to say nothing of other labels where she has made stay ; and this has not unnaturally led to the conclusion that she is Oriental and not Greek at all. In spite of

which she takes in other people's business, she has no direct cult-relations with the rest of the gods, she does not share temples nor honours except in rare and insignificant cases¹; her worship is conventional as far as the sacrifices are concerned, and no special animal, not even the dove, betrays by its presence the links which connect the great goddess of Love with her past: and yet we are sure that she had a past, even if we do not at first know in what direction to look for it. The Greek mythology tells us nothing: the poets play with her name and perpetrate philological impertinences to show why she is born of the foam (*ἀφρός*), and only lead us from the truth, instead of towards it, by their industrious myth-spinning. We evidently must begin this enquiry *de novo*, both as regards the ancient mythologists and their modern representatives. We will not even assume too hastily that she is a foreigner: for that requires the underlying assumption that the Greeks had no god or goddess of Love of their own and had no necessity for one, which I, for one, find extremely difficult to believe. Cyprus and Cythera may turn out to be not so far from the mainland after all: and even if she did originate in Cyprus or Cythera, we have still to be told the story of her birth. Is she a personified force of nature, a vegetable demon of fertility, some person or thing that makes for growth and multiplies products? Can we look on her as another view of the Corn-Mother, or as a spirit of physical inebriation, like Dionysos? or is it possible that she, too, may be like Apollo and Artemis, the virtue of a plant?

As we have said, her relation to Zeus is merely ornamental: so that if she has a vegetable origin, it can hardly be found in the oak or its parasites. It would have to be sought in that part of the botanical world that is supposed to have sexual virtues. Now a little enquiry into the history of medicine, which we have shown to be for the most part the history of plants, will tell us that the ancients were very interested in determining what plants would make people fall in love with one another; they used their observation leisurely and their imagination industriously, and in the end they evolved all that branch of medicine which has for its object the manufacture of philtres and love-potions, and, as Falstaff would say, "medicines to make me love him".

¹ The case of Dodona is not included: for here Aphrodite is hardly distinguished from Dione; the Dodona Cult is about the oldest thing in the region.

Now it is clearly not an impossible thing that Aphrodite may have something to do with this wizardry : and, therefore, we will not too hastily assume that she is altogether out of kinship with Apollo and Artemis-Hekaté. Something, for instance, of a medical nature must be involved in the fact that "at Oropus she shared an altar with Athena the healer, and the daughters of Asklepios".¹

We cannot, however, help feeling that this medical element which put her in the medical school of Athens is something unusual, and that she might more properly be called Panalgeia than Panakeia.

Suppose, now, we ask of the herbalist the question as to which of his simples is likely to operate most powerfully on the affections. If he belongs to the ancient world, he will reply without a moment's hesitation that Mandragora, or Mandrake, is the thing for our money : if he belong to the modern world, he will say that mandragora is only an opiate and not a stimulant. We leave the modern wizards on one side, and interrogate the ancient. What have they to say of this "drowsy syrup" ? The answer is full and marvellous. The mandrake is a root which shrieks terribly when you pull it out of the ground ; it is, indeed, so dangerous that you must not try to pull it : better tie a dog to the stalk and then entice the dog towards you with a *bonne bouche* : stop your ears by way of precaution, and use your eyes to see the last dying agonies of the dog who has pulled the root for you. Then go and pick it up. To your surprise, you will find the root to have a human form, sometimes male, and sometimes female : it is, in fact, like Falstaff's "forked radish," a little parody of man : for the description of the youthful Justice Shallow as a "forked radish" led on to the comparison of him with a mandrake. The experts will tell you that it is rarely to be found except under the gallows, and that it is the humours and juices of the suspended person, especially if the victim of the law be innocent, that have given it the human form.

Naturally one asks whether this is really ancient lore : is it not a myth made in English out of the first syllable of mandrake ? Then we recall how Medea, when she wished to make Jason secure from the brazen bulls that breathed fire on him, supplied him with an unguent made from a flower that had been fed with the ichor of the

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 657.

innocent, martyred Prometheus ; so we feel certain that we are, in the main, dealing with primitive matters.

So we must interrogate the herbalists and see where mandrake is to be found, and what can be done with it when you find it. The first thing one comes across is the well-known story in Genesis where little Reuben brings home to his mother Leah some pretty apples which he has found in the field : and Leah, who has no special need for such stimulants, trades them off to her sister Rachel for a consideration. The same love-apples turn up among the flora of the Song of Solomon, where we learn that in the spring-time they give an agreeable scent, a point upon which all nasal artists are not by any means agreed.¹ Let us see what old Gerarde has to say on the question of Mandrake : he tells us (p. 357) : " There hath been many ridiculous tales brought up of this plant, whether of old wives, or some runnagate surgeons, or physicke-mongers I know not (a title bad enough for them) but sure some one or moe that sought to make themselves famous or skilful above others were the first brochers of that error I speake of : [the supposed human form of the Mandrake]. They adde further that it is never, or very seldome, to be found growing naturally but under a gallowse, where the matter that hath fallen from the dead body hath given it the shape of a man ; and the matter of a woman the substance of a female plant, with many other such doltish dreams. They fable further and affirme, That he who would take up a plant thereof must tie a dog thereunto to pull it up, which will give a great shreeke at the digging up : otherwise if a man should do it, he should surely die in short space after. Besides many fables of loving matters, too full of scurrilitie to set forth in print, which I forbear to speak of. All which dreames and old wives tales you shall from henceforth cast out of your books and memory ; knowing this, that they are all and everie part of them false and most untrue : for I myselfe and my servants also have digged up, planted and replanted very many, and yet never could either perceive shape of man or woman, but sometimes one straight root, sometimes two, and often six or seven branches coming from the maine great root, even as Nature list to bestow upon

¹ Howbeit Levinus Lemnius saith, in his discourse on the *Secret Miracles of Nature*, that the " male Mandrake beareth a lovely pleasant and sweet-scented Apple, like to the yelk of a Hen's Egg, by the enticement whereof Rachel was allured " (p. 264, Anglicè).

it, as to other plantes. But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but eate and drinke, have bestowed some of the time in carving the roots of Brionie, forming them to the shape of men and women : which falsifying practise hath confuſed the error amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them upon their report to be true Mandrakes."

Evidently we want to know some of the fables of love-matters, to which Gerarde refers. Meanwhile, we note that the story of plant-extraction by dogs is a very old belief. That it is in early times, considered dangerous to dig up the plants may be seen from the directions which Pliny gives to the excavator: "to dig deep to the windward of the plant, and then, after tracing round it three circles with the sword, to dig it up with one's face turned to the West."

As to the supposed virtues of the plant which Gerarde derides, it is sufficient to establish the antiquity of the belief in them, and we can then safely infer a corresponding antiquity of the associated practices.

Dioscorides lets the cat out of the bag by saying² that some people call the mandrake by the name Circaea, because its root is thought to be an efficacious philtre :—

ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική.

Theophrastus has the same statement, and appears to be the source from which Pliny took his account of the manner of obtaining the root :—

περιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τὸν μανδραγόραν εἰς τοὺς ξίφει, τέμνειν δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν βλέποντα· τὸν δ' ἕτερον κύκλῳ περιορχεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ὡς πλεῖστα περὶ ἀφροδισίων.

Theophrastus : *De genere plantarum*.

We are to talk love at the top of our bent when digging the love-apple. So we need have no hesitation in saying that the mandrake was the love-apple of the ancients. Its Hebrew name *Dudai* is referred to the same stem (*Dōd* or *Dōdō*) from which the beloved *Dav* is derived, and gives the sense of fruit-of-love or love-apple.

² V. xxv. 13 (94). Cf. the cutting of the mandrake after it has been gone round three times, *infra*.

Med. iv. 76.

especially when we note how the Septuagint translate the *Dudaim* by the term *μῆλα μανδραγόρων* or *mandrake-apples*. The fruit is not unlike a yellow apple in appearance, and Parkinson says it is "Of the bigness of a reasonable pippin and as yellow as gold when it is thoroughly ripe".¹ Parkinson follows Gerarde in his scorn for the popular beliefs in the physical effects of the mandrake in other than soporific directions, but while he refuses to go into the matter in detail, and tells us to consult Matthiolus if we want to know, he lets us incidentally know one little secret, by saying² that "great and strange effects are supposed to be in the Mandrake to cause women to be fruitfull and to beare children, *if they shall but carry the same neare unto their bodies*". Evidently the plant was worn as a charm about the waist, or in the girdle, and could produce its effect without being taken internally either as root or apple.

Our next question is whether this love-apple can in any way be connected with Aphrodite, in the same way as we connected Apollo with the apple and the mistletoe and Artemis with the mugwort. The answer comes from an unexpected quarter. Hesychius has amongst his glosses an explanation of the term *μανδραγορίτις* (*She of the Mandrake*) and he interprets it to mean Aphrodite.

That would be quite conclusive if it were not for the fact that it is preceded by another gloss to the effect that *Μανδράγορος* means Zeus. We find accordingly,

Μανδράγορος = Zeus.

Μανδραγορίτις = Aphrodite.

Clearly we have to explain why Zeus is "He of the mandrake," as well as why Aphrodite is the lady of the mandrake. At first sight this looks difficult. It almost requires a Zeus-Aphroditos which would to the ancient world, sound like a contradiction in terms.

Evidently, then, we do not yet know the ancient mind with regard to the plant with sufficient accuracy, and we must delve a little deeper. We employ a little more canine skill in the extraction of the root. We shall discover that the mandrake was regarded by the ancients as existing in two species, which they called *mandrake* and *mandrake*. Next, that when you pulled a mandrake, the

¹ p. 343.

² l.c. p. 353.

Theophrastus and others
divided them into Male

which you extracted was, again, either male or female ; and lastly, that Aphrodite herself had a cult-figure, according to which she was both male and female, and this representation existed in Cyprus, the original home of the goddess : to which may be added the fact that the persons who traded off fictitious mandrakes on a too credulous world adorned their frauds with hair and beard after the fashion of the Cypriote image already referred to.

We begin with Aphrodite and her possible bi-sexuality. Macrobius tells us as follows :—¹

Signum autem eius est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed vesti muliebri, cum sceptro ac natura virili ; et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat. Laevius etiam sic ait : Venerem igitur almus adorans, sive femina sive mas est, ita uti alma Noctiluca est.

Here we have some astonishing statements. A bearded Venus in Cyprus, hardly female at all except for her dress : thought indeed by the Cypriotes to be both male and female. It is the plant evidently that is responsible for this ambiguity : and Macrobius goes on to quote a jest of Aristophanes about Aphroditos, and a statement of another author about the adoration of an *almus* Venus (male or female, fish or flesh as the case may be), and concerning her shining by night. Here again, we seem to be on the track of the plant ; Venus is affirmed to shine by night, as in the case of the magic fern-seed, and other treasure-disclosing vegetables.²

reason that some are fruitful and bear seed, but others are barren and bring forth none. . . . The Female Mandragora is either barren or bears very small fruit."—*Secret Miracles of Nature*, p. 264.

κα¹ *Sat.* iii. 8, 3.

² That there was a bearded goddess in Cyprus is also attested by Hesychius, who reports that the author of the history of Amathus in Cyprus says that the goddess was represented in the Island in the form of a man :—

Ἀφρόδιτος· ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα γεγραφὼς
ἀνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχημάτισθαι ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει.

Hesychius, s.v. Ἀφρόδιτος.

For the goddess' beard we have also the attestation of Suidas :—

Ἀφρόδιτη· πλάττουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ γένειον ἔχουσαν.

Hesychius also points out that it is this bearded Aphroditos that gave rise to the later Hermaphroditos, which leads us to infer that the mandragoros which Hesychius identifies with Zeus, ought more correctly to have been called Hermes.

Meanwhile, there is no need to trouble any further over Hesychius and his *Zeus Mandragoras*: he is only the conjugate of the vegetable Aphrodite: a male counterpart had to be found for the plant of inconstant sex, and Zeus will do for this requirement quite as well as, shall we say, Hermes.¹ We may therefore, identify Aphrodite with the mandrake, provided we can carry back the traditions to a sufficiently early date; for of course we must not manufacture early deities out of late folk-lore. That the mandrake is man-formed is, certainly, a very early tradition. Dioscorides tells us that Pythagoras called it *ἀνθρωπόμορφον*. The same writer tells us that the Romans called the fruit *mala canina*, which betrays the tale of its extraction by a dog.

The reference to the human form of the mandrake is due, in the first instance, to the bifurcation of the root (cf. the "forked root").

Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 632, has the same tradition of the bearded goddess, and discusses the use of the masculine *θεός* as applied to a goddess: as follows:—

Ac ducente deo: secundum eos qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. nam et Calvus: *pollentemque Deum Venerem*. item Vergilius (vii. 498): *nec dextrae erranti deus abfuit*: cum aut Juno fuerit, aut Alecto. est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris [corpore et veste muliebri cum sceptro et natura virili;] quod *Ἀφρόδιτον* vocatur, (cui viri in veste muliebri, mulieres in virili veste sacrificant; quanquam veteres *deum* pro magno numine dicebant. Sallustius: *ut tanta mutatio non sine deo videretur*) et hoc ad Graecorum imitationem, qui *ὁ θεός καὶ ἡ θεός* dicunt, sicut *ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος*, vir et femina.

It is interesting that, according to Servius, the image of the goddess is called *Ἀφρόδιτον*.

¹ The reason why Zeus was selected as the male consort may, however, be divined with some degree of probability. If Aphrodite was to have a consort in Cyprus it should certainly have been Adonis. Now if we look at Dioscorides and his description of the male and female mandrake, we shall find him speaking of a third variety which he calls *μόριον* (morion). This mysterious *μόριον* is nothing else but the Syriac word for "Our Lord" transliterated into Greek, and in Cyprus its proper equivalent is Adonis. Apparently someone has misunderstood the reference and called the mandrake by the name of Zeus, to whom the term "Our Lord" might more properly be held to apply. So we suspect that originally the male and female mandrake were Adonis and Aphrodite. The difficulty is that in the popular tradition Adonis has not yet developed a beard. (If our interpretation is right, it will carry with it the meaning of Adonis-town for the Cypriote city Marion, near to Amathus, where the beard was worshipped. In Amathus itself, as we know, the goddess and Adonis had one temple.)

of Shakespeare)¹; it was this bifurcation that led to the finding of a head and arms in the plant to match the legs and all other necessary accessories. Columella accordingly described the root as half-human.

Quamvis semihominis vesano gramine foeta
Mandragorae pariat flores.

De re rustica, x. 19, 20.

But what appeared to the philosopher as manlike, and to the professor of agriculture as half-human, was easily carried by the vulgar into a more exact delineation of the human form.

Thus in the earlier printed herbals we have actual representations of the emerging human forms, as the plant is plucked out of the ground. The *Hortus sanitatis*, for example, of 1491 gives us the accompanying representations, which have mythology written across their very face. One can see Aphrodite rising out of the ground a great deal more clearly than the Greeks saw her rising out of the sea.

We must not say that our ancestors had nothing to work upon in their representations. If we were to consult Sibthorp's splendid volumes on the Greek Flora, we should find a picture of the mandrake, root and all, which is really not unsuggestive of the lower part of the human anatomy. Our frontispiece shows a copy of the plate in Sibthorp from which it can be judged whether I have overstated the case. One way of determining the hold which the ideas about the mandrake had upon the human mind is to watch the efforts which the more scientific herbalists make to shake these beliefs off. We have already alluded to Gerarde: here is an extract from Parkinson who insists that there is no danger in the extraction of the root, and nothing human in its shape. In his *Garden of Pleasant Flowers* (A.D. 1629), much of which is repeated in the *Theatrum Botanicum*, we find as follows:—

“The Mandrake is distinguished into two kinds, the male and the female; the male hath two sorts, the one differing from the other, as shall be shewd, but of the female I know but one. The male is frequent in many gardens, but the female in that it is more tender

¹ Dodonaeus, *Hist. of Plants*, p. 437: “The roote is great and white, not muche unlyke a Radishe roote, divided into two or three partes, and sometimes growing one upon another, almost lyke the thighes and legges of a man”.

and rare, is noursed up but in few. . . . The roote is long and thicke, blackish on the outside and white within, consisting many times but of one long roote, and sometimes divided into two branches, a little below the head, and sometimes into three or more, as nature listeth to bestow upon it, as my selfe have often seene by the transplanting of many parts of the rootes, but never found harm in so doing, as many idle tales have been set down in writing, and delivered up also by report, of much danger to happen to such as should digge them up or break them ; neyther have I ever seene any forme of man-like or woman-like parts, in the rootes of any ; but as I have said, it hath oftentimes two maine roots running down right into the ground, and sometimes three, and sometimes but one, as it likewise often happeneth to parsneps, carrots, and the like. But many counterfeit roots have been shaped to such forms, and publicly exposed to the view of all that would see them, and have been tolerated by the chief magistrates of this citye, notwithstanding that they have been informed that such practices were meere deceit and insufferable ; whether this happened through their over credulitie of the thing or of the persons, or through an opinion that the information of the truth rose upon envy, I know not, I leave that to the searcher of all hearts. But this you may be bold to rest upon and assure yourselves, that such formes as have bin publicly exposed to be seene, were never so formed by nature, but only by the art and cunning of knaves and deceivers, and let this be your *Galeatum* against all such vaine, idle and ridiculous toys of men's inventions."

These be very bitter words. Let us see what the knaves and deceivers had actually been doing, animated, no doubt, by a shortage in the supply of mandrake from the Mediterranean or the Levant.

Matthioli, from whom much in Parkinson and Gerarde is derived, tells us the story of a man whom he cured in the spital at Rome of a disease of gratitude confided to him the secret of the mandrakes ; he said that he made them out them to ladies desirous of offspring ; in order hair and beards and the like, which a true w, he used to plant little grains of millet in root, and bury the root again until the millet thrown out the necessary hirsute additions to

the root that was to go upon the market.¹ These attempts at producing a bearded mandrake, etc., are instructive: they show us what was the popular acceptation of the plant, and help us again to understand the bearded Venus of Cyprus of whom Macrobius speaks. Matthioli does not, like his followers, deny the bifurcation of the root, though he does deny the existence of the human form in the mandrake. As his account is valuable because of the traditions which it gathers up, I transcribe the main body of his statement on the mandrake.

Matthioli, *Comm. in lib. quartum Dioscoridis*, pp. 759 ff. *Mandragorae* utrumque genus frequens nascitur in compluribus Italiae locis, praesertim in Apulia Gargano monte, unde radicum cortices, et poma herbarii quotannis ad nos convehunt. Habentur et in viridariis spectaculi gratia: etenim Neapoli, Romae et Venetiis utramque mandragoram in hortis et vasis fictilibus satam vidimus. Sed profecto vanum ac fabulosum est, quod mandragorae radices ferant, quae humanam effigiem repraesentant, ut ignarum vulgus, et simplices mulierculae certo credunt et affirmant. Quibus etiam persuasum est, eas effodi nequaquam posse, nisi cum magno vitae periculo, cane qui effodiat radicibus adalligato, et auribus pice obturatis, ne radicis clamorem audiant effodientes, quod audita voce periclitentur pereantque fossores. Quippe radices illae, quae humanam formam referunt, quas impostores ac nebulones quidam venales circumferunt, infocundas mulieres decepturi, factitiae sunt ex harundinum, bryoniae, aliarumque plantarum radicibus. Sculpunt enim in his adhuc virentibus tam virorum quam mulierum formas, infixis hordii et milii granis, iis in locis, ubi pilos exoriri volunt; deinde facta scrobe tamdiu tenui sabulo obruunt, quousque grana illa radices emittant; id quod fiet viginti ad summum dierum spatio. Eruunt eas demum, et adnatas e granis radices acutissimo cultello scindunt, aptantque ita ut capillos, barbam et ceteros corporis pilos referant. Hujus sane rei certam fidem facere possum, quod cum Romae essem, impostorem quendam circumforaneum lue Gallica correptum nobis curare contigit, qui praeter alias innumeras imposturas, quibus circumventis hominibus, multam pecuniam extorquens, docuit et artem qua factitias sibi comparabat Mandragoras, quarum complures mihi demonstravit, asserens unam tantum interdum divitibus vendidisse quinque et viginti, nonnunquam etiam triginta aureis. Quamobrem nos, qui omnium utilitati et saluti quantum possumus consulimus, haec silentio haudquaquam involvenda duximus, ut palam omnibus fiat, quibus fallaciis et fraudibus maximo cum detrimento, et vitae saepe discrimine, homines ab iis impostoribus et nebulonibus decipiantur. Qui ut antiquorum quoque autoritate suas imposturas abstruant, praedicant Pythagoram vocasse Mandragoram anthro-

¹ So Bacon, *Natural History* (ed. Spedding, 2, 533): "Some plants there are, but rare, that have a mossy or downy root; and likewise that have a number of threads, like beards; as mandrakes, whereof witches and impostors make an ugly image, giving it the form of a face at the top of the root, and leaving those strings to make a broad beard down to the foot".

pomorphon, quod eam humanam formam reddere coluerint. Verum sciendum est, non sine rationi mandragoram ita a Pythagora dictam fuisse: quippe quod in universum omnes fere mandragorae radices a medio ad imum bifurcatae proveniant, adeo ut crura hominum modo habere videantur. Quapropter si illo effodientur tempore, quo fructum gerunt, qui mali instar super folia ad terram procumbentia brevi pediculo appensus, parum a radice distat, hominis qui brachia desint effigiem quadantenus repraesentant. Hanc quidem rem nulli, quod sciam, vel pauci sunt, qui recte acceperunt. . . . Sed ut ad fabulam illam redeamus quae periculum denuntiat ignaris radices mandragora effodere volentibus . . . ea mihi quidem desumpta videntur a Flavio Josepho, etc.

It is amusing to find that Matthioli thought that he could explain a world-wide (or almost world-wide) piece of folk-tradition by a reference to Josephus. It will be well to emphasise the diffusion of the belief in the digging of the mandrake and its dangers both chronologically and territorially. For instance, Josephus with his story of the digging of a root which he calls Baaras must be taken as evidence of the folk-lore of Palestine. He does not seem to identify the Baaras with the mandrake, and no one seems to know about it, nor whether it is used as a love-philtre, or only for medical purposes and associated magic. He seems to think that the plant is named after a place near the castle of Machaerus on the Dead Sea, where John the Baptist was incarcerated; the root had a colour like flame, and towards evening sent out a ray like lightning. We naturally compare stories of the fern-seed, and of the Aphrodite Noctiluca, referred to above. There was danger in extracting the root, but, says Josephus, there was a safe way of getting it: "They dig a trench quite round it till the hidden part of the root is very small, then they tie a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up, but the dog dies immediately, as it were, instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this would any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. . . . If it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those called demons, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them."¹

It certainly looks as if it were the mandrake that Josephus and his dog had been extracting, and using as a charm against evil spirits. The same belief was noted last century in the furthest parts of Armenia.

¹ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 3.

In 1822 there was published in London a translation of an Armenian work called the *Memoirs of the Life of Artemi of Wagarshapat near Mt. Ararat in Armenia*. In this work (p. 99) we find as follows: "In the vicinity of the Ushakar are found two remarkable roots. With one called *toron* is made a red colour, which is used in Russia: and the Russian name of which is *Morena*: the other, *laschtak* or *manrakor* (mandrake), bears an exact resemblance to the human figure and is used by us medicinally. It grows pretty large. A dog is usually employed to draw it out of the ground; for which purpose the earth is first dug from about it, and a dog being fastened to it by a string, is made to pull till the whole of the root is extracted. The reason of this is, according to the current report, that if a man were to pull up this root he would infallibly die, either on the spot or in a very short time; and it is also said that when it is drawn out the moan of a human voice is always heard, but I cannot answer for the truth of these circumstances, as I never witnessed them, nor indeed do I myself believe them." Here we have the same folk-tradition tinged with incipient rationalism that we detected in the English herbals, and it is expressly said that the root extracted is the mandrake.

Here is a story which seems to suggest that the mandrake tradition was, till recently, extant in Cyprus itself, which for our purposes in the interpretation of Aphrodite, is its natural home.

"I entered into conversation," says Mr. Hume in one of his journals, "with a Russian who had studied medicine in Padua, and was now settled in Limosol in Cyprus. In giving me an account of the curiosities which he possessed he mentioned to me a root, in some degree resembling a human body, for at one end it was forked, and had a knob at the other which represented the head, with two sprouts immediately below it for the arms. This wonderful root he had dug up, he said, in the Holy Land, with no little risque, for the instant it appeared above ground it killed two dogs, and would have killed him also had he not been under the influence of magic."¹

Evidently the Russian doctor at Limosol was treating his guest to some of the fancies of that end of the Levant, and retailing mandragora stories as they were in circulation in times long anterior to his own. He may have even picked them up in Cyprus itself.

¹ Quoted in Walpole, *Memoirs of Travels in Turkey*.

We have now shown sufficiently the diffusion of the legend of the mandrake in the Eastern end of the Mediterranean ; its original home being certainly not far from Cyprus, the traditional centre of the Cult of Aphrodite. Down into the Middle Ages the herbalists tell us that the mandrake was imported, seeds, roots, and fruits, from that part of the world. For example, Bauhinus in his *History of Plants* (A.D. 1651) tells us that the flowers and fruits of the mandrake are produced in Italy, France, and Spain from seeds and roots imported from Crete and the Cyclades.¹

We come now to a curious alternative in the classification of the varieties of the mandrake by the early Greek magicians and doctors. A reference to Dioscorides² will show that a division into male and female was accompanied by another into black and white. The female was black and the male was white. The herbalists speculate on the reason of this division and suppose that the colour of the leaves or of the root is involved : what concerns us is not the reason for the colour assigned, but a certain consequence that ought to result from the description. If the colour has been accepted by the ancients as a part of the botanical summary, we ought to expect that, corresponding to the female mandrake, there would be a black Aphrodite : and not only so, but since we have assigned Cyprus as the home of the mandrake cult, at least for Greek religion, we ought to find the black Aphrodite in Cyprus. Now let us see what we actually do find. There are traces of the existence of a black Aphrodite in Thessaly, (among the Thesprotians) and again by a fountain in Arkadia near Mantinea : there is also a black Aphrodite in Corinth. In each case, the title of the goddess is *Melainis*. The title "the black lady" suggests a cult that is in some way connected with the world below.

Now, with regard to this cult, we are told by John Lydus³ that the rites which characterised it were transferred from Corinth to Cyprus, a statement which implies the existence of the black goddess in Cyprus, though we are not bound to accept the inference as to the direction in which the transfer was made. The passage referred to is as follows :—

¹ He professes (vol. iii. p. 617) to be quoting from Lobelius : "In Italiae provinciae Narbonae et Hispaniae hortis florem malaque maturan, semine aut radicibus ex Candia et Cycladibus insulis advectis, ut scribit Lobelius."

De. Mat. Med., iv. 76.

³ Joh. Lyd., 4, 45.

ἐν δὲ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέθνον τῇ, Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐντῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε. i.e. they used also to sacrifice to Aphrodite in Cyprus a sheep, wrapped in its fleece; and the form of the Cypriote ritual must have been introduced at some time or other from Corinth.

Here we must make a correction to the text which talks of the sacrifice of a sheep wrapped in its fleece. It was the worshipper that was wrapped in the fleece, and who identified himself with his offering by throwing the fleece over his head and shoulders, or by kneeling upon it. We must read, then, ἐσκεπασμένοι for ἐσκεπασμένον.¹ It seems, then, that we have recovered the cult of the black Aphrodite in Cyprus, and a fragment of the associated ritual. We need not, then, hesitate to draw conclusion from the black mandrake to the black goddess. They are the same.

The result has an interesting corollary. It is well known that there exist in some Christian Churches statues of a black Virgin, endowed liberally by the Church with the power of working miracles. One in S.E. France is especially noteworthy. It has been common amongst archæologists to assume that we have here a survival of the miracle-working images of Isis, converted to Christian use, as in many similar cases. It appears, however, from our investigation, that there is no need to go to Egypt for the required sanctity; it may very well have been current in the local worship of Aphrodite.²

If we may judge by the comparison between the little chapel of the Black Lady at Corinth as compared with the general devotion to her white sister, the black Aphrodite is not a cult figure of any prominence: she came into existence to personify one aspect of a magical plant, and would easily become a witch of the deadlier kind, and consort with Hekaté or Medea in her darker moods. In tracing her to Cyprus and possibly to Dodona (for the Thesprotian Cult probably derives from thence) we do not mean to suggest that either in Cyprus or in Dodona the white Aphrodite was not overwhelmingly the predominant one. It is, perhaps, this darker side of the cult which

¹ I see that the proposed correction had already been suggested by Robertson Smith, and wrongly rejected by Mr. A. B. Cook. See his paper on *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age* in J.H.S. xiv. 106 and n. 145.

² For the reference to local cults, take Pausanias, 9, 27, 4; 8, 6, 2, and 2, 2, 4; Athenaeus, 13, 588.

was responsible for the goddess being regarded in some quarters as a *ψυχοπόμπος*, a guide of souls to the other world.

As soon as we have satisfied ourselves that Aphrodite was originally a witch, and not a courtesan, we are almost obliged to infer that, like the other witch-goddesses, she had a garden of her own, in which grew her mandrake and other rarities and specialities.

It is not difficult to detect the literary reference to such gardens, though they usually appear as mere pleasure-gardens of a disreputable type. It may, however, be seen that this is not the whole of the story. For instance, Ovid tells us that the apples which beguiled Atalanta in her race, were gathered by Aphrodite herself from her own garden at Tamassos in Cyprus :—

Est ager, indigenae Tamassorum nomine dicunt,
Telluris Cypriae pars optima, quam mihi prisci
Sacravere senes, templisque accedere dotem
Hanc jussere meis; medio nitet arbor in arvo,
Fulva comam, fulvo ramis crepitantibus auro,
Hinc tria forte mea veniens decerpita ferebam
Aurea poma manu :

Ovid. *Met.* x. 644-650.

Here it is clear that the apples grew in a sacred enclosure, and were plucked golden from a golden bough. The reference to the dotation from ancient time reminds one of the "ancient garden of Apollo". If this fruit belongs to the earlier ritual in the old-time garden, it ought to be the mandrake-apple that was plucked : and then it would be love-magic and not mere covetousness that caused Atalanta to surrender the race to Hippomenes. Ovid tells us plainly that she was in love with him.

Now let us see how the mandrake story has coloured the medicine and religion of Northern and Western Europe. We shall show first that amongst our Teutonic ancestors it was the subject of much wizardry, and that it had the same name as the witch who operated with it. Next we shall go on to show that the legend developed on French soil in such a way as to produce a belief in a fairy-form, female in character, answering to Aphrodite at the other end of the evolutionary scale, and again named after the plant. We take these points in order, they are of great importance, because of the difficulty which some people will feel in accepting the identification of the primitive plant with the archaic divinity : the difficulty is a real one : we may have to admit

the original equivalence of Apollo and the apple, and we certainly cannot explain the name of the apple as a by-product from the name of the god: but is it as evident that we can equate Artemis the woman's doctor with artemisia the woman's medicine? May not the latter be a true adjective to the former? And why should we assume an equivalence between Aphrodite and mandragora which would almost require us to explain the former as a linguistic representation of the latter? These difficulties have been, in part, met already, as for example by the Hesychian equation between Aphrodite and the mandrake, and by the parallelism between the bearded mandrake and the bearded *Venus* of Cyprus: if, however, we can show that in Germany the witch and the plant have the same name, and that in France, after the original witch had disappeared from the legend, a female fairy was produced, it will be clear that the equivalence of the plant with the potency that controls it lies in the very nature of the case.

Let us then take up the German evidence. Bauhinus in his *Historia Plantarum* already cited, will tell us that amongst the Germans the plant is called *Alraun Maenlein*, but amongst the Belgians, *Mandragora Manneken*; amongst the Italians, *Mandragora Maschio*; amongst the French, *Mandragora* or *Mandegloire*. The names are very suggestive; we have before us the belief that there was a mannikin in the root, that mandrake was in two kinds, male and female, and that in French by an easy linguistic perversion, it came to be called *Hand of Glory*, of which more presently.

In German, then, it was known as *alraun* and this is one of the names of the Teutonic witches, or, if we prefer it, goddesses. An *alruna*-maiden is a witch who operates with *alraun*: she was the plant in the first instance, of necessity she remains closely connected with it.¹

There is no more powerful German magic than the *alraun*: it was a birth-helping medicine, amongst other potencies, for instance, in some lines of *Frauenlob*,² we are told as follows:—

¹ We may take the statement of the equivalence of the names of the witch and the medicine from Ducange: "Ita vocavere Gothi veteresque Germani magas suas: sed et *alrunae* nomen inditum fuisse mandragorae radicibus, quod praestantis usus in arte magica superstitiosis esse videretur" (Loccenius in Antiq. Sue. Goth.). "Hodie etiam a Germanis *alrunen* magas vocare constat."

² Ed. Ettmüller, *minneleich* 15, p. 26.

Sit, wip, der süeze ersüezen vürbaz reichet,
 ouch, alsam der alrünen glanz
 der berendigen vrouwen schranz,
 berliche bürde weichet,

upon which Ettmüller remarks that "people seem to have believed that mandragora facilitated parturition. Perhaps it was the potency of the human *alrune* (the witch, the enchantress) that had passed over with the witch to the plant." The observation is interesting, though the transfer of name and potency was probably in the opposite direction. It shows that the mandrake had its cult in Germany where it even discharged some of the functions of the *artemisia*, as if Aphrodite had taken over the duties of Artemis and acted as her *locum tenens*. The same thing comes out in a passage from Lonicer's *Krauterbuch* (A.D. 1582)¹: "Alraun rinder dienet zu augen-arzneyen. Dieser rinder drey heller gewicht schwer für den frawen gemächt (sc. genitalia) gehalten, bringet ihnen ihre zeit, treibet aus die todte geburt." The language is decidedly Artemisian.

Grimm tells us further that a man who had *alraun* about him could change his form from childhood to age, or conversely at his pleasure. Still more remarkable is the statement that the mandrake had to be dressed like a doll, and fed twice a day. We shall refer to this again, as it is important for the development of the image worship associated with the inherent deity of the plant: dolls may easily become gods, and of course, conversely. There can be no doubt as to the belief in the human form of the mandrake when that belief expresses itself in the concrete forms of a cult requiring food and raiment.

A few remarks may further be made with regard to the property of rejuvenescence attributed above to the mandrake, accompanied by a converse power in the case of young persons. It is precisely this power (interpreted of course sexually) that is attributed to Aphrodite, and furnishes one of her titles. For instance, she is called *Ambo-logêra*, the Postponer of Old Age: a term which has its perfect explanation in a passage of Plutarch:—

καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐπω παντάπασιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ πέφeyγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσευχόμεθα δῆπουθεν, λέγοντες ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνοις·

Ἀνάβαλε ἄνω τὸ γῆρας

ὦ καλὰ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

—Plut., *Sympos.* 3, 6, 4.

¹ P. 106. Quoted by Grimm, *Myth.* iv. 1673 (Eng. tr.).

It appears that a prayer for the adjournment of old age may have been actually incorporated in the ritual of the goddess. With this, we may take another petition addressed to the goddess in an epigram of Martial :—

Supplex ille rogat, pro se miserisque duobus,
Hunc juvenem facias, hunc, Cytherea, virum :

—Mart. II, 81, 5.

which will help us to understand the kind of help desired at the opposite end of the sexual scale.

This power of sexual modification is responsible for the belief of the middle ages that the man who had the mandrake could be man or child just as he would : “swenne er wil sô ist er ein kindelin, swenne er wil sô mâc er alt sîn” (Grimm, *ut supra*).

Now let us come to the French traditions. We have the belief that the “hand-of-glory” can be dug up under a gibbet, both in England and France. This “hand-of-glory” is the *main de gloire* evolved linguistically out of *Mandragore*. We have already explained that for mandrake to be effective it must be dugged from under the gallows on which an innocent victim had been hanged : and we pointed out the same folk-tradition in Medea’s gathering of the plant that had been fed with the ichor of the wronged and suffering Prometheus. The *main de gloire* became on the one side, an actual hand to be dug out, and on the other side it evolved into a French fairy named *Magloire*, who could presumably do all that the mandrake was expected to do : *Magloire* was a French *alruna*-maiden, a resuscitated Aphrodite. The importance of this for the equation of the mandragora and the goddess is obvious.

Now for some bits of evidence.

Chéruel in his *Dictionnaire Historique des Institutions Mœurs, et Coûtumes de la France* (A.D. 1855, ii. 726) tells us that mandragora is a plant to which the peasants in some of the provinces attribute a marvellous virtue. He then quotes from the *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* in the fifteenth century with regard to the mandrake : “que maintes sottes gens gardaient et avaient si grand foi en cette ordure, que pour vrai ils croyaient fermement que tant comme ils l’avaient, pourvu qu’il fut en beaux drapeaux de soie ou de lin enveloppé, jamais ils ne seraient pauvres”.

Here again we have the mandrake dressed up (remember that in

the original Aphrodite Cult the goddess was always draped), and this well-dressed mandrake would make one rich, had in fact the key to hidden treasures. Chérue! goes on to show that this belief lasted into the nineteenth century, and quotes an extraordinary story from St. Palaye of a conversation he had with a peasant as to the existence of the *main de gloire* at the foot of a mistletoe-bearing oak! The *main de gloire* or *mandrake* was for this peasant a kind of mole at the root of the tree, which had to be regularly fed, and would always make you rich by returning twice as much as you spent upon it. But woe to the man who neglected to supply the mandrake with its proper nutriment! The plant had become an animal, but was still parlous stuff to deal with. For convenience of reference we transcribe the description: "Il y a longtemps qu'il règne en France une superstition presque générale au sujet de *Mandrages*: il en reste encore quelque chose parmi les paysans. Comme je demandais un jour à un paysan un gui de chêne, il me conta qu'on disait qu'au pied des chênes qui portent du gui, il y avait une main de gloire (c'est à dire en leur langage une mandragore), qu'elle était aussi avant dans la terre que le gui était élevé sur l'arbre; que c'était une espèce de taupe; que celui qui la trouve était obligé de lui donner de quoi la nourrir, soit du pain, de la viande, ou toute autre chose; et que ce qu'il lui avait donné une fois il était obligé de lui donner tous les jours et dans la même quantité, sans quoi elle faisait mourir ceux qui y manquaient. Deux hommes de sons pays qu'il me nomma en étaient morts, disait-il; mais en récompense cette main de gloire rendait au double le lendemain ce qu'on lui avait donné la veille. Si elle avait reçu aujourd'hui pour un écu de nourriture celui que le lui avait donné en trouvait deux le lendemain, et ainsi de toute autre chose: tel paysan qu'il me nomma encore et qui était devenu fort riche, avait trouvé à ce qu'on croyait, ajouta-t-il, une de ces mains-de-gloire."¹

¹ It is amusing to see the way in which the "Hand of Glory" is worked up in the poetry of the Ingoldsby Legends, and with what fidelity to tradition, excepting only that the *main de gloire* is taken from the actual murderer on the gibbet and not dug up from beneath it. The author produces the following spell:—

Now open lock
To the Dead Man's knock!
Fly bolt and bar and band!
Nor move nor swerve,
Joint, muscle, or nerve,

I have not yet succeeded in determining the meaning of the relation between the mandrake and the mistletoe-bearing oak. There is something here waiting to be unravelled. We have also to find out how the oak became a gibbet.¹ The legend of the mandrake appears to be crossed at certain points by that of the mugwort : both of them have in common with the springwort (whatever that was) the power of enriching their possessors. The mandrake, like the other famous plants, was magic as well as medicine.

In spite of the crossing of cults to which we have referred, the main point remains clear ; viz. : that mandragora is magic rather than medicine ; and that it is peculiarly a love-magic. It is as old as the Book of Genesis, whatever may be the date to which that book of Hebrew traditions is ultimately assigned. It has lasted as a love-medicine to our own times. As Isaac Vossius said in the seventeenth century,

“Mandragorae putatur vis inesse amorem conciliandi”.²

The superstition referred to was noticed by Sibthorp to prevail amongst the young Athenians, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who kept pieces of mandrake root about their persons in little bags for amatory reasons.³

Our next step is to ask whether the apple of Love turns up in the figured representations of Aphrodite, in the same way as we showed the apple to occur in coins representing Apollo, and elsewhere in connection with the god. One recalls at once that some of the most famous statues of Aphrodite represent her with an apple in her hand. The Venus of Melos, for example ; or the famous statue of the sculptor Kanachos in Sikyon of which Pausanias says that it was made of gold and ivory and that the hands held, one a poppy and *the other an apple*. Here the selected fruit and flower are

At the spell of the Dead Man's hand !
Sleep all who sleep ! Wake all who wake !
But be as the Dead for the Dead Man's sake !^o

This is not bad. The hand of glory operates on the one hand as a springwort, and on the other as the soporific anæsthetic mandragora.

¹ We might compare the hanging of victims (or, at least, their heads) upon a sacred oak. See A. B. Cook, *European Sky-god*, p. 397.

² Vossius, *De idol.* lib. v.

³ “Radicis frustula, in sacculis gesta, pro amuleto amatorio hodie, apud juvenes Atticos, in usu sunt” [Sibthorp, *Flora Græca* (A.D. 1819), iii. 16].

suggestive, for the mandragora is a sort of combination of poppy and apple, from the old Greek medical point of view. The apple inherits its magical power, the poppy its soporific value.

Then we have "a terra-cotta figure from Corinth, of which both hands are held against the breast, with a dove in the right hand, *an apple in the left*,"¹ or we might refer to "the bronze in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, representing her as holding the hem of her robe in the left hand, and *an apple in the right*, and wearing a flower-wrought crown."² Then there is the well-known statue called the Venus Genetrix in the Louvre, reproducing some religious image of the divinity of vegetation, as we may believe that the hand wit



VENUS, WITH SCEPTRE AND APPLE
(From copper coin of imperial date in
British Museum. From Aphrodisias
in Caria)



VENUS GENETRIX
(From a silver denarius of Sabina, the
wife of Hadrian, in the collection of
Mr. A. B. Cook)

the apple is a correct restoration.³ Other artistic representations may be quoted, but these will suffice. It appears that Aphrodite, then, resembles Apollo in one of her leading cult symbols, the apple. Not only so, but she appears to have occasionally taken a title from the symbol, parallel to *Apollo Maleates*, for in a coin of Magnesia on the Maeander she appears as Ἀφροδίτη Μηλεία, and this is the apple-Aphrodite and not the Aphrodite of Melos.⁴

How, then, are we to explain this concurrence in cult symbol between Apollo and Aphrodite? We know the meaning of Apollo's apple; it has been shown to be the sacred tree which is Apollo's self: it is, however, impossible that this can be true of Aphrodite; she is not the apple-tree nor the mistletoe. The explan-

¹ Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 673.

² *Ibid.* 692.

³ *Ibid.* The coin representing Venus with sceptre and apple is a copper coin of imperial date, in the British Museum, from Aphrodisias in Caria. The Venus Genetrix coin is a silver denarius of Sabina the wife of Hadrian, in the Collection of Mr. A. B. Cook.

⁴ See *Zeit. f. Num.* 1885, t. 12, p. 318, pl. 13⁶.

ation is that her apple is a substitute for the mandrake-apple ; she is, as Hesychius explains, the " Lady of the Mandrake " ; and when we put this apple back into her hand, well ! that is her way of telling us her past history ! The two apples, the Apolline and the Aphrodisian are respectively the oracular apple and the love-apple, and the apple, as a symbol of love, is derived from the earlier fruit. The oracular apple will survive in folk-lore as a means of determining, by its rind or its pips, what one's luck in love is like to be.

Now let us see whether we can find any evidence for the substitution of the Apolline-apple for the original love-apple in the Aphrodite Cult. How are we to transfer the symbolic fruit from Delphi or Delos to Cyprus ? The answer is as follows :—

There was a mythical story current preserved to us by Servius, or one of his interpolators, in his commentary on Vergil, according to which a certain young man, *named Melos*, went from Delos to Cyprus, in the days of King Cinyras, the father of Adonis : he became bosom friend of Adonis and married a young Cypriote lady, a priestess of Aphrodite. After the death of Adonis, the heart-broken Melos and his companion hanged themselves upon a tree. Aphrodite, in pity, turned Melos into an apple-tree, which was called Melon in memory of the tragic event, and his partner into a dove. In this way, then, the apple of Delos may be said to have been consecrated in the shrine of Adonis. Here is the very passage of Servius, from which mythological tradition it is possible to extract some further evidences of the way in which religious explanations presented themselves to the mind of an educated Greek.

Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* viii. 37, *roscida mala* :—

Matutini roris humore perfusa. (Sane unde Melus Graece traxerit nomen, fabula talis est : Melus quidam in Delo insula ortus, relicta patria fugit ad insulam Cyprum, in qua eo tempore Cinyras regnabat, habens filium Adonem : hic Melum sociatum Adoni filio iussit esse, cumque eum videret esse indolis bonae, propinquam suam dicatam et ipsam Veneri, quae Pelia dicebatur, Melo coniunxit : ex quibus nascitur Melus, quem propterea quod Venus Adonis amore teneretur, tanquam amati filium inter aras praecipit nutriri. Sed postquam Adonis apri ictu extinctus est, senex Melus cum dolorem mortis Adonis ferre non posset, laqueo se ad arborem suspendens vitam finit, ex cuius nomine Melus appellatus est. Pelia autem coniux eius in eo arbore se adpendens necata est. Venus misericordia eorum mortis ducta, Adoni luctum continuum praestitit. Melum in pomum sui nominis vertit, Peliam coniugem eius in columbam mutavit : Melum autem puerum,

qui de Cinyrae genere solus supererat, cum aduultum vidisset collecta manu redire ad Delum praecepit; qui cum ad insulam pervenisset, et rerum esset ibi potitus, Melon condidit civitatem: et cum primus oves tonderi, et vestem de lanis fieri instituisset, meruit ut eius nomine oves *μῆλα* appellentur.)

Thus far Servius, or his interpolator Daniel. It is interesting to see the attempt to connect *apples* with *sheep* in Greek. Now let us return to Aphrodite whom we have justified in apple-stealing from Apollo.

Our next enquiry should be as to the provenience of the mandragora: how did it come into Greek magic or medicine? Is it a home product, or has it been brought from abroad? Or was it first brought from abroad and then discovered at home? And did its discovery result in the establishment of a garden of Aphrodite, with such plants as were likely to further her particular ends? When we examine the herbals we do not get much light on these questions, though it is clear we are dealing with a continuous tradition of long standing. Gerarde, for example, simply tells us¹ that "mandrake groweth in hot Regions, in woods and mountaines, in Mount Garganus in Apulia, and such like places. We have them onely planted in gardens, and are not elsewhere to be found in England." Upon which Parkinson enlarges as follows:² "They grow in woods and shadowy places, and the female on river-sides in diverse countries, beyond the Alpes, but not on this side naturally, as in Graecia, the *Isles of Candy*, and others in the *Mediterranean Sea*, Italy also and Spain: with us they are nursed up as rarities in gardens".

Now wherever Parkinson took his information from, whether from the actual trading botanists of his day, or from early writers, does not so much matter. The significant thing is that the mandrake is found *in the Greek islands*. That puts a new light on Aphrodite's migrations, and her cult centres in Cyprus and Cythera. The natural inference is that the plant was brought down the Levant by Phœnician traders. Aphrodite is the imported mandragora of early times, and has undergone divinisation in the same way as Apollo and Artemis.

As soon as Aphrodite has shed her transformation raiment, and become a plant again, we see the meaning of the magic cestus which she used to wear, with which she did witchcraft on Olympus and

¹ p. 352.

² *Theatr. Botan.* p. 344.

elsewhere. It is the belt of mandrake roots which the women of ancient times wore next their skin, for reasons detailed above.

Its magic virtue is clear from the language of Homer. It was witchcraft and made its wearer, for the time of wearing, into a witch. Hence Hera begs its use that she may operate on Zeus with more than normal charms : and it is interesting that in describing the loan of the cestus Homer lets us see, behind his designedly obscure language, a girdle containing a number of plants used as philtres : the passage runs as follows in a translation :—

Give me the loveliness and power to charm
Whereby thou reigns't o'er gods and men supreme.

Then Venus spoke and from her bosom loosed
Her broidered Cestus, wrought with every charm
To win the heart ; there Love, there young Desire,
There fond Discourse, and there Persuasion dwelt.

—*Iliad*, 14, 197, tr. Derby.

These potencies were, we suspect, originally vegetables, and the chief of them was the mandrake. Lucian, in his *Dialogues of the Gods*, makes Athene roundly charge Aphrodite with witchcraft, and Athene and Hera refuse to take part in the contest for Beauty, unless Aphrodite takes off that thing. How could a young man give a fair verdict, and it had to be a man's verdict, if one of the competitors was mandraked and talismaned, so as to incapacitate his judgment in advance ! Under such circumstances we should all have gone wrong, even if a thousand Ænones had called from the bush and told us to give the apple to Athene.

Now comes the most difficult problem of all, the question of the name. Is there anything that philology can confidently say on the subject ? Or have we had so many bad guesses that there is no prospect of doing anything more than add one to the number of those that already exist ? The one thing that seems clear is that the name is not Greek ; and from this it follows as, at all events, a reasonable hypothesis, in view of the traditional connection of Aphrodite with Cyprus, that the name is Semitic and probably Phœnician. What would the goddess be likely to be called if she were really my lady Mandragora ? The Hebrew name is *Dudaim* for the mandrakes found in the field, and it is matter of nearly general agreement that this has to do with a root that means "Love". Thus "David" is

said to mean "Beloved," and Solomon is actually called Jedid-Jah or "Beloved of Jahveh," the name being supposed by some to answer to a primitive form *Dodo*. The name of the mandrake *Dudai* would be an adjectival form belonging to this root; put the word for fruit before it and we have *pridudai* = פרי דודאי. It will be recognised that we have here something that might be the ancestor to the Greek A-phrodite. Now how would this be expressed in Phœnician? Fruit would be פר = *phar*, and if we may judge by the analogy of the forms David (Dōd) and Dido, we might expect something like *phar-didi*, from which it is not a long step to the Greek spelling. Ἀφροδίτη would, to reach its primitive form, lose a prefixed vowel and change its last consonant from *t* to *d*, so as to read Φροδίδη. Now it is curious that there is some sign of wavering in the spelling of the name on early Greek vases. We find, for example, *Aphro-tide*. It may be an accidental permutation but it arouses suspicion. The form *Aphrodide* I have not found.

According to this suggestion, Aphrodite is simply love-apple, Græcised out of a primitive Semitic (Phœnician) form.

I see that this derivation has been in part anticipated, and that a number of German scholars have suggested that the first part of the goddess' name is connected with the root פרה (fruit). The idea which they thus reach is that of fruitfulness, a very proper idea to be connected with the more wholesome aspects of human love. It is, however, an insufficient explanation. There must be some other idea involved than that of fruit or fruitfulness. The mandrake cannot be fruit without some other quality to distinguish it from other fruits; it might possibly be fruitfulness in the abstract, if every one who used it had that idea before his mind. It is, however, doubtful if this could be maintained. It would suit the case of Rachel in the Book of Genesis, but not the devotees at Amathus or Paphos.

Moreover, we have an important analogy, which suggests that the name of the goddess has something to do with evil magic, as well as good magic.

The name of the Roman goddess Venus is one of the conundrums of Philology. It should, probably, be connected with the Latin *venenum* (poison) in the form *venesnum*, in which case Venus is simply the witch-medicine for love, perhaps the very same witch-medicine that was used further east: her name is not Love but

Philtre.¹ Analogy, then, suggests something more than "fruitfulness" as the underlying meaning of Aphrodite. Those who suspected the Semitic root to be פרה did not carry their enquiry far enough.²

In this connection we might almost have divined a herbal element in the Cult of Aphrodite from the language of Sappho. Mr. A. B. Cook draws my attention to the opening line of the first fragment of Sappho, where Aphrodite is addressed as

ποικιλόθρον', ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,

and where some controversy, or, at least, divergence of interpretation, has arisen over the meaning of ποικιλόθρονος.

Enmann, in his work on *Cyprus and the Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite* makes the word to mean that the goddess is seated on the gay sky of Night, she the golden one or the one that dwells in a golden house.³

Walter Headlam, in his new book of translations, takes the word in the same sense. On the other hand, and with greater probability, Wüstemann⁴ took the word to be derived from θρόνα ποικίλα, in

¹Giles, *Manual of Comp. Phil.*, § 223; "venenum, literally 'love-potion' for uenes-no-m".

²Those who wish to follow the matter up may like to have the following references:—

Tümpel, *Ares and Aphrodite*, p. 680. (*Supplement-band XI der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.*) Ἀφροδίτη, ein Wort, dessen Semitischen Ursprung schon Völcker (Rhein. Mus., 1883, *Ausländische Götterculte bei Homer*); Scheiffele (Pauly, *Real. Enc. art. Venus*) und Schwenck (*Myth.* iv. 211, 1846) vertheidigt haben, unter Zurückführung auf die Wurzel פרה mit der Bedeutung der Fruchtbarkeit, und mit Recht.

Tümpel adds in a note an alternative solution as follows:—

Sowie Röth (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, i. 252 note) und Preller (*Gr. Myth.* i³, 263), unter Berufung auf das Assyrische פרידת (phönisch mit Artikel) אֶפְרִידַת "die Taube," was vielleicht vorzuziehen wäre, wenn nicht eine Einführung der zahmen weissen Taube der Semiramis in der vorasiatischen Culten der Natur-göttin vor 600 a. chr. selbst unwahrscheinlich wäre (Hehn, *Culturpfl.*², 296 f.).

I have not verified these references of Tümpel. It appears to me that the idea of "fruit" or "fruitfulness" is to be understood, as explained above as *Fruit of Love*, or *Love-apple*.

³Enmann, *Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekultus* in *Mem. de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg*, vii^e serie, tom. xxxiv. No. 13, p. 77.

⁴*Rhein. Mus.*, xxiii. 238.

which case *θρόνα* means "gay flowers" or "magic herbs," and the adjective *ποικιλόθρονος* has nothing to do with "a throne": we may refer to the use of *ποικίλα θρόνα* ("quaint enamelled flowers") in Homer (Il. 22, 441) for the original of the Sapphic adjective; but that *θρόνα* may be taken in the sense of "Magic herbs" appears from Theocritus,¹ *τά θρόνα ταῦθ' ὑπόμαζον*, and Nikander.²

From this point of view, Aphrodite *ποικιλόθρονος* is very nearly the same as Aphrodite *Ἀνθεια*: only the flowers have a medical intention, a Medean quality.

It is admitted that this is somewhat tentative and uncertain; but it is the best solution that has yet presented itself to my mind. As to the meaning of *mandragora*, I have nothing to add to the attempts that have been made at its explanation.

To sum up, Aphrodite is a personification of the mandrake or love-apple. She holds this in her hand in the form of fruit, and wears it round her waist, or perhaps as an armlet, in the form of a girdle in which the root of the plant is entwined. Whether she had a herb-garden in which the plant was cherished, along with other similar stimulating vegetables, is doubtful; there was at Athens, near the Ilissus, a sanctuary of Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις*, but what this means is quite uncertain. Perhaps it was only a municipal name, say "the park". The plant appears to have come down the Levant, in the first instance, probably from Cyprus. As Cyprus is in ancient times a Phœnician island, it is possible that the name of the goddess may be a transfer of a Phœnician name for love-apple. The apple which the goddess holds in her hand in certain great works of art, is a substitute for the primitive apple-of-love.

¹ Idyll. 2, 59.

² Ther. 493, 936.

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF EXTRACTING MANDRAKE ROOTS.

The following description of the method of extracting mandrake roots comes from the *Herbarium* of Apuleius through the medium of Anglo-Saxon, and may be found in *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*, vol. i., p. 245 :—

“This wort, which is named *μανδραγόρας* is mickle and illustrious of aspect, and it is beneficial.

“Thou shalt in this manner take it ; when thou comest to it, then thou understandest it by this, that it shineth at night altogether like a lamp. When first thou seest its head, then inscribe thou it instantly with iron, lest it fly from thee ; its virtue is so mickle and so famous, that it will immediately flee from an unclean man, when he cometh to it ; hence, as we have before said, do thou inscribe it with iron, and so shalt thou delve about it, as that thou touch it not with the iron, but thou shalt earnestly with an ivory staff delve the earth. And when thou seest its hands and its feet, then tie thou it up. Then take the other end and tie it to a dog's neck, so that the hound be hungry ; next cast meat before him so that he may not reach it, except he jerk up the wort with him. Of this wort it is said, that it hath so mickle might that what thing soever tuggeth it up, that it shall soon in the same manner be deceived. Therefore as soon as thou see that it be jerked up, and have possession of it, take it immediately in hand and twist it, and wring the ooze out of its leaves into a glass ampulla, or *pitcher*, and when need come upon thee that thou shouldst therewith help any man, then help thou him in this manner.”

Then follow directions for the use of the medicine. The description is redolent of antiquity : notice that the plant is *noctiluca*, and compare the details of its extraction with the accounts in Pliny, Dioscorides, etc.

NOTE ON THE BEARDED ASTARTE.

What we have established for the mandrake (viz. that it has the human form in both sexes), and for the goddess Aphrodite developed from the mandrake, has an important bearing upon the question of the "bearded Astarte": for in a hymn to the goddess Ishtar, composed for the cult in her temple at Nineveh, it is said of her that "she has a beard like the god Asshur". My friend, Morris Jastrow, who is the special champion of the goddess Ishtar and her respectability before men, will not hear of his goddess being bearded, for is she not the most radiant of the planets, and how can a planet have a beard? Accordingly, he wrote an article on The "Bearded" Venus in *Revue Archéologique* for 1911 (pp. 271-98) to contest the idea that the Babylonian pantheon had a bearded goddess.

Prof. Jastrow got into difficulties by being a neo-Babylonian, overmastered, in his sense of the religion that he interprets, by an extravagant idea of the antiquity of Babylonian astronomy. I think it would be easy to show that Ishtar and the rest of her companion deities have no such constant relation to the stars as is commonly supposed, but that they sprang from the earth just as did the Greek Pantheon, and that Babylonian religion is much older, of necessity, than such a juvenile thing as Babylonian astronomy, which the modern school, including Prof. Morris Jastrow, persistently overestimate.

Let us see, then, what can be said by Dr. Jastrow on the subject. He tells us:—

(p. 297.) "There was no 'bearded Venus' among the Babylonians; the expression that Ishtar-Venus 'has a beard' being an astrological metaphor, transferred from the planet Venus to the goddess in order to emphasise either her strength and brilliancy, or the blurred appearance of the planet": I had almost written "argument" for "planet," in transcribing the sentence, so much was I impressed with the infelicity of the explanation, with its two conflicting alternatives: Ishtar has a beard, because she is bright or because she isn't; and to be bright or not to be so is a mark of virility. But let us hear some more of this mock mythology.

(p. 273.) "To have a beard" and "to discard a beard" are merely descriptions—rather naïve to be sure and yet quite natural—of the

planet Venus, when she sparkles brightly and when she loses her sparkle. Here the alternatives of the previous statement are modified and we are told to equate "sparkle" with "beard"; is my good friend really serious when he writes in this vein? yet he is so satisfied with his explanation that he says:—

(p. 281.) "I feel justified in removing the 'bearded Venus' so far as the Babylonians and Assyrians are concerned, from the legitimate pantheon, and in relegating her to the proper place for all bearded ladies—to a museum of religious freaks". This is witty but not altogether wise; for if mythology teaches us anything, it is that the origins of the gods are precisely "freakish" in nature, just what one would never expect them to be in their inception, and just what one would never expect them to become in their development. Dr. Jastrow's magisterial judgments need a broader base of observation than is furnished by the Babylonian Pantheon. Apparently he is inwardly sensible of his Babylonian isolation, for he goes on to show that there was not a bearded Venus anywhere else, not even in Cyprus. For instance, he quotes Servius and Macrobius (those treasure houses of ancient folk-lore and mythology) and depreciates them; he even goes to the length of mistranslation. For instance he quotes Macrobius as follows:—

Philochorus quoque in Attide eandem
Affirmat esse lunam etc.

"Philochorus, also, in his work on Athens states that she (i.e. Venus) is the moon."

To turn *Attis* into *Athens* was, no doubt, a slip, and it does not affect the argument: it is just one of the things "one would rather have left unsaid": let us call it a printer's error; but why does Jastrow try to prove that all the testimony to the bearded Venus in Cyprus is single and late? Is it to be supposed that such a belief was likely to be invented at a late date? Has Dr. Jastrow forgotten that Ishtar was masculine in S. Arabia? Is it likely to be anything else than a survival?

In one point, however, Jastrow comes to a correct conclusion:—

(p. 295.) "The bearded Venus of Cyprus, however she may have been represented, does not necessarily involve the bisexual character of the goddess": I take this to mean that Hermaphroditism in art is a late development, a point on which I believe all archæologists are agreed. Jastrow puts the point quite clearly on p. 289:—

"Hermaphroditism bears on the surface the indications of being due to a degenerating process in religious ideas, and not to an early and natural form of thought". That is a very just statement: but it does not mean that an alternation in sex in the conception of a deity is due to degeneration, or late

in the evolution of thought. We have shown the contrary from the male and female mandrake. On the statement of Lydus, *De mensibus*, ii. 10 that the Pamphylians formerly worshipped a "Venus having a beard," Jastrow has again a very unsatisfactory explanation. This time the planets are not on hand to show their beards or to remove them, so he says it was "a symbol of strength and virility, or an artificial device that could be attached to the statue of the goddess on certain occasions, and then again removed when the occasion passed". This really does take us into the freak museum. The Pamphylian Venus was a bearded lady, on or off: when she was "at home" or "not at home". I may be excused for the reference to the freak museum in mythological research, as I did not invent it!

Where Prof. Jastrow appears to me to have gone wrong (and it is a direction in which many have erred beside himself) is in giving to Babylonian astronomy the precedence over every other form of religious knowledge.

NOTE ON THE MANDRAKE IN THE FATHERS.

It will interest students of theology that it is not only in popular circles that the belief in the virtues of the mandrake persisted. The allegorists could hardly be expected to keep their hands off the story of Reuben's finding the apples, nor would they fail to interpret spiritually the remark in Canticles vii. 13, about the sweet odour that the mandrake gives. Sometimes they are severely medical in their observation, as when Theodoret tells us that the mandrake has a soporific influence, and that the spiritual meaning is that men are to be anæsthetized to sins:—

ὕπνον οἶδεν ἐμποιεῖν ὁ μανδραγόρας,
ὥς ἱατρῶν παῖδες φασιν· . . .
οἱ μανδραγόροι ἔδωκαν ὄσμήν·
ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἤρξαντο καθεύδειν ταῖς
ἀμαρτίαις οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

—P. G., 81, 197.

Sometimes, however, the Patristic comment is written from the popular point of view, and discourses on the human form of the mandrake-root. Thus Philo of Carpassa in his comment on the scent of the mandrake in Canticles, tells us:—

μανδραγορῶν γὰρ αἱ ῥίζαι ὑπὸ
τὴν γῆν ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἔχουσιν
χαρακτῆρα, τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν εἰκόνα
ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχονται· οἱ γὰρ νεκροὶ
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας εἰς τὸν
Ἅδην αἰσθόμενοι, τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως
δεδώκασιν ὄσμήν.

The mandrakes underground have a human form; they were like the saints in Hades, waiting for the Advent of Christ, and giving forth the odour of the resurrection. Something of the same kind will be found in a quotation which Procopius of Gaza makes from Nilus, in comment on the same passage in Canticles:—

λέγει δὲ καὶ τοὺς μανδραγόρας
δεδώκεναι ὄσμήν· τάχα τοὺς ἀπὸ
μμήσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ τὸ εὐώδες

τῶν καλῶν ἔργων πνέοντας· καὶ γὰρ
 ὁ μανδραγόρας μιμεῖται τὸ τοῦ μήλου
 σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν· τοιοῦτος
 ἦν Παῦλος, ὡς μανδραγόρας κατ' ἀμφοτέρα
 τὸ μήλον Χριστὸν μιμούμενος· εἴποις
 δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς συναναστάοντας Χριστῷ
 εἶναι μανδραγόρας, ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ρίζαν
 εἶναι ἀνδροείκελον, δι' ἧς σημαίνεται
 ἡ νεκρότης.

—P. G., 87, 1736 D.

Here Philo (or his source) is explaining that the mandrake imitates the apple, in form and in scent, and that Christians imitate Christ by good works. In this sense Paul was a mandrake to Christ's apple! If you like, the dead who were raised with Christ were mandrakes, for the mandrake-root has a human form, and stands for dead men.

There is more to the same effect in a later passage, as follows:—

οἱ μανδραγόραι ὑπὸ γῆν οὐρανόμορφους
 [1. ἀνθρωπόμορφους; there has been a confusion between the
 abbreviations *οὐνος* and *ανός*] ἔχουσι ρίζας.
 οἱ νεκρώσαντες οὖν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ
 χριστόν, ἔδωκαν εὐωδίαν ἔργων
 ἀγαθῶν· ἡ οἱ νεκροὶ, τῆς Χριστοῦ
 παρουσίας αἰσθανόμενοι, τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως δέδωκαν τὴν ὁσμὴν.

—P. G., 87, 1737 B

We must not suppose that it is only the Fathers of the Church that believed in the human form of the mandrake-root. The Reformers can be quoted to the same effect. The Geneva Bible is certainly the work of Progressives in Theology, yet it adorns its margin in Genesis xxx. 14 with the note,

e Which is a
 kinde of herbe
 whose root hath
 a certain like-
 nes of the figure
 of a man.

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